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the roots of the chaos

A Special Report

William Pfaff

**Reforming the
Seminaries**

Joseph O'Donoghue

**Children's
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A Selected List

**Midpoint at
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Gregory Baum

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THIS WEEK

EDITORIALS, NEWS AND VIEWS

- 179 A Sorry Campaign
- 180 Wanted: An Explanation
- 180 Voters on the Move
- 181 Looking at China
- 182 "The Comforter"

ARTICLES, FEATURES

- 183 Vietnam: the Roots of the Chaos
by William Pfaff
- 191 Mid Point in the Session
by Gregory Baum
- 194 Reforming the Seminaries
by Joseph O'Donoghue
- 201 Learning About Poverty
by Claire Huchet Bishop

VERSE

- 196 This Timelessness
by John Robert Quinn

DEPARTMENTS

- 197 The Stage
by Wilfrid Sheed
- 198 The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung
- 203 A Selected List of Children's Books
by Elizabeth Minot Graves

THE COMMONWEAL

232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
JAMES O'GARA, *Managing Editor*
DANIEL CALLAHAN, *Associate Editor*
JOHN LEO, *Associate Editor*
PETER STEINFELS, *Editorial Assistant*

PHILIP T. HARTUNG, *Movie Critic*
WILFRID SHEED, *Drama Critic*
JOHN FANDEL, *Poetry*
ROBERT BARRAT, *Paris*
GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN, *Rome*
J. M. CAMERON, *Great Britain*
JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager*

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

A Sorry Campaign

AS AN EXERCISE in the vacuous statement, the misleading generalization and the fatuous cliché the 1964 Presidential campaign deserves a prize. Rarely have so few genuine issues been debated, so few principles elucidated, and so few illuminating facts come forward. President Johnson chose the safe road of peace and prosperity; no one will argue against money jingling in pockets or bombs lying silently unused. Senator Goldwater, moral philosopher and protector of the private purse, dipped into another bag of rhetoric, one filled with the old and the new: corruption in high places, soft-headed anti-Communism, down-the-road-to-socialism, etc. The only people for whom the campaign proceedings could have had much meaning were the pollsters; they had some nice variables this time, the reckoning of which would help perfect the state of the art.

To say that the campaign was dull and uninformative is not, however, to say that passions did not run high. Reduced to black and white terms, liberals had in Senator Goldwater a genuine political villain. He stood for a whole gamut of values (assuming, that is, one could determine *where* he stood from day to day) which American liberalism has sought, for decades now, to replace. He was thus made to order for the liberal polemicist, a target far more exciting than Richard Nixon had been. For conservatives, things were not so easy. Lyndon Johnson had never been a symbol of anything in particular, unless that of the wheeling-dealing politician unencumbered by strong ideological commitments. Well, that had to do and the most was made of it in the closing weeks of the campaign.

From a tactical point of view, Senator Goldwater's mistake was in not remaining the archetype of radical conservatism. He would have lost that way also, but at least his image would have remained untarnished. Yet he chose to play the poli-

tician, and did so in a clumsy fashion. He was just vague enough on civil rights to lose some early Southern support, but never clear enough to gain any Negro support. He chose to make the most of the Jenkins case, but did so by tawdry innuendoes and not-too-subtle jokes, rather than by making the most of the security possibilities. He squirmed on social security, the TVA, nuclear weapons in Vietnam—just enough to confuse the right wing without reassuring liberals. He scared those who opposed him and befuddled those who were his supporters. To top off his bewildering shifts of position, various state campaign directors complained about the inefficiency of his campaign management.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON did little to enhance his reputation. To begin with, he too ran a poorly organized campaign, the result, apparently, of his penchant to do everything himself, leaving little or nothing to subordinates. Had he not had the built-in advantage of being the incumbent, as well as the great initial opposition to Goldwater, his campaign could well have been a disaster. But more substantive weaknesses were apparent. On civil rights, he was hardly more specific than Senator Goldwater. If one had not known of his prior support of the Civil Rights Bill, one might well have guessed he was the Lyndon Johnson of old. His unwillingness to make public the results of his intellectual "task force" was another disappointment. Where is his Administration heading? What, specifically, does it hope to accomplish? On what kind of talent will it draw? One can only guess at the answers to these questions, so vague was his campaign oratory.

If none of this is calculated to inspire one about the future of the Johnson Administration, at least the net result may be the removal of Senator Goldwater from the center stage of American politics. At the same time, however, the campaign may have left some lasting scars. As in war, invective and

NOVEMBER 6, 1964 179

hatred often lose their connection with the original complaints and come to take on a life of their own. The millions of anti-Johnson books circulated during the campaign will have done their share in creating a residue of disrespect for the President. So, too, the infighting among Republicans may have done irreparable harm to the G.O.P. The only possible good we can see here is that President Johnson may have had borne in on him the necessity of keeping a spotless house. Bobby Baker was nicely swept under the rug during the campaign despite Republican efforts to pull him out. Mr. Johnson may not be so lucky the next time; he would do well to find a new set of cronies as rapidly as possible.

There is one bright spot: Hubert Humphrey. President Johnson showed good sense in selecting him as a running mate. As Vice President, Mr. Humphrey would be wise not to steal too much of the limelight. But Mr. Johnson would be wise not to hide him or slight his intelligence. What use he chooses to make of Mr. Humphrey will tell us much about the character of the Administration.

Wanted: an Explanation

THE WORLD continues to be mystified by the sudden ouster of Khrushchev. Except for some excoriation in the press, Moscow itself supplies few hints as to the reason. Nikita's colleagues on the Presidium and the Soviet military leaders could well be put out with him for his past sins: his adventurism and backing down in Cuba, Russia's recent failure to sustain economic growth and repeated agricultural failures that have necessitated gallingly large imports of wheat (this year's favorable weather has produced a bumper Russian harvest).

Still more resented than such past sins and Khrushchev's garrulous personal style, were his plans for an international Communist congress this December, to prepare a showdown with the Chinese, and his impending visit to Bonn in the interests of more cordial Russo-German relations. Such departures in foreign policy are believed to have been too much for his colleagues in the Kremlin. It is also said that his efforts to have his son-in-law, Alexie Adzubei, appointed to the Secretariat, and thus ensure a perpetuation of his influence, triggered the move. But much of this remains conjecture.

What has been abundantly clear is the startling reaction of Communist leaders in other countries. Only one foreign Communist spokesman, the organ of the Party in Uruguay, hailed the change. Com-

munist leaders in Hungary and Poland spoke of the deposed leader in terms of praise, while those of East Germany and Czechoslovakia referred to Khrushchev "with deep emotion." The powerful Communist parties of France and Italy almost immediately organized delegations which set out for Moscow to demand an explanation—as have a number of less important national groups.

In other words, the new Soviet leaders' effort to forestall a break with China and restore the unity of the worldwide Communist movement has led to a disclosure of how it is divided. Russo-Chinese rivalry is one reason for it, but there are also growing nationalist feelings in the governments of the East European satellites as well as among important Party cadres in the West. As a result of Khrushchev's permissive policies these groups have attained a certain degree of independence. This has stimulated an appetite for more, rather than unswerving loyalty to Mother Russia. Other Communists are less willing than ever, for example, to subordinate their national economies to that of the Soviet Union.

In a divided thermonuclear world the present Russian leaders can themselves do little to reverse this centrifugal tendency. Only some rash confrontation from without can put the pieces together again as they were before. Positively speaking, the West can appreciably further this tendency through increased exchanges in culture and trade.

Voters on the Move

EIGHT MILLION Americans lost their right to vote for the presidency in 1960, many of them because they exercised what the mythology of our land has decreed an American addiction: moving from one part of the nation to another. In 1960, 35 million Americans shifted their residences; in doing so they fell afoul of a tangle of voter registration and residence laws designed for a by-gone age. Three quarters of the states require residence of one year before a citizen is eligible to vote; Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina demand a residence of two years. Various refinements to this system complicate the voter's life even should he move within the boundaries of a state. A voter who moves from a New York suburb to Manhattan, for example, must wait four months before becoming eligible to vote in *national* elections.

How many voters have been disqualified from casting a ballot in the 1964 Presidential contest cannot yet be determined. Fifteen states have now passed measures which allow new residents, otherwise ineligible to vote, to cast ballots in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential races. Court action

has been initiated challenging local residence requirements for national elections. Nevertheless, with the increase in U.S. population, the number of voters disenfranchised by the moving van will not have changed much from four years ago.

Residence requirements in the United States have been closely connected with the cause of good government. Not only was it logically assumed that a period of residence was necessary for the voter to understand the local political issues, but residence requirements were also established to foil attempts at fraudulent loading of the voting rolls. In regard to local elections there is obviously still much to be said for these residence requirements. (However, apart from the problem of residency, the whole process of voter registration is often so arduous and, as in the South, liable to abuse, that consideration ought to be given the systems of "automatic" registration used elsewhere in the world.)

When applied to national elections, every argument for limiting voters to those who have resided in their voting district for a year or more collapses. Citizens who have just moved from one state to another know the difference between a Goldwater and a Johnson without having to read the local newspaper for a year to find out. The prevention of fraud might be accomplished in many ways; a system of national voting cards on the model of the draft card system could be devised without infringing on the states' prerogatives in matters of voter eligibility. A citizen's right to vote should be protected, not hampered, by voter registration and residence requirements. As they stand today, these requirements are unsuited for an America where each year roughly one out of every five citizens changes his place of residence.

Looking at China

THE NEW Chinese bomb is a fresh reminder, if one is necessary, that Communist China is a political power that must be coped with, and that the coping will involve more than the familiar American mixture of belligerence and non-recognition. Despite the best American hopes, the problem stubbornly refuses to solve itself: Chinese influence is not on the wane; there are no signs of internal collapse. China has weathered a difficult period, involving the failure of the communes and the removal of Soviet aid, with far less strain than might have been expected. It still faces massive economic problems, but this is nothing new for the Chinese and does not seem to be affecting the stability of the regime.

It is difficult to see the present American policy

toward Red China based on anything more solid than the emotions of the electorate. For the polls have made it plain that the multiple and complex relationships which the U.S. maintains with one enemy, the Soviet Union, are violently rejected when proposed for the other major enemy, Red China. Nor is very much weight attached to the fact that our present policy of attempting to ignore and isolate Red China has not worked at all. The argument that China's performance in Korea, Tibet and northern India prove it is unworthy of membership in the family of nations may be emotionally satisfying and ethically unchallengeable, but not very fruitful as a means of creating and fostering conditions that may lead to peace. The possibility of accommodation for mutual advantage has been pursued with some success in our relationship with Soviet Russia. Why should Red China be regarded as so much more evil?

Now that Khrushchev has been deposed, and now that China has a bomb of its own, however primitive, Mao Tse-tung will certainly expect to confront his ally, and the world at large, in a different way. By refusing to have anything to do with China, the United States is hardly very well positioned to affect these new relationships. In fact, we penalize ourselves in many ways. In comparison with the enormous amount of knowledge we have accumulated about Soviet Russia, we know very little about China and the men who rule it. If diplomats were exchanged, and if China were opened up to American journalists and scholars, the advantage would not simply be China's. We would clearly be better off knowing more about China, and, through diplomacy, holding open different options to her leaders.

We know very well that the pressures from China helped push Russia into an accommodation with the West that seemed improbable a decade ago. China, too, might feel that the pressure from Russia dictates a better relationship with the United States. The need is to hold open the doors to China just as we have to Russia. All the slogans about not recognizing the "international bandit," and not letting her "shoot her way into the U.N." should not be allowed to obscure the fact that if international tension is to be reduced, Chinese-American as well as Soviet-American relations must be improved.

World peace cannot be maintained by military might alone. Diplomacy is a necessary tool, and one we have denied ourselves in attempts to discourage Chinese aggression in Southeast Asia. It is certainly worth seeing whether an easing of tension with China can be obtained by agreeing to normalize trade, or even, if Peking is willing to meet our demands, to extend economic aid. Economic self-interest, which has proved effective in moderating

Communist rule in Eastern Europe, might be just as strong in the Far East.

At any rate, our refusal to recognize a stable regime that has governed the world's largest nation for fifteen years, and which now has entered the nuclear club, makes no sense at all. Even the most tortuous defenses fail to convince, and the reality of our entire foreign policy is thus called into question. The old myths are slow dying, and openness and flexibility in foreign policy are still vaguely suspect words, but the change must come. But since China has the bomb, and since President Johnson will shortly have his mandate, we trust that it will come.

James O'Gara is in Rome. His column, "All Things Considered," will be resumed shortly.

NEWS & VIEWS

"The Comforter"

A TIME WAS, and not so long ago, when rebutting the critics of the Church was an activity considered only slightly less fruitful in grace than attending Mass. To write a pamphlet ranked with using the higher sacramentals, like relics; to read one approximated saying the rosary or using holy water. The thing has quite gone out of fashion. The ecumenical movement has taken its toll; and those battalions of Dominicans and Jesuits who used to be kept busy debating Paul Blanshard and explaining why Catholics can't join the YMCA have moved on to more irenic pastures.

That is why there is something pathetically nostalgic about "The Comforter," a play being presented nightly in New York by the Blackfriars' Guild, a Catholic theater organization. "The Comforter" is not a play about a quilt but a series of loosely connected vignettes meant to demonstrate the saintliness of Pope Pius XII. It is advertised as "a reply to 'The Deputy,'" Rolf Hochhuth's drama accusing Pius of moral failure in not publicly denouncing Nazi atrocities against the Jews. True to the pamphlet tradition, "The Comforter" aims at Hochhuth's weakest point, his portrayal of the Pope's person, a characterization many observers found either historically or dramatically deficient. The Pope Pius of "The Comforter" is an intense but rigid "institutional" personality faced with a moral dilemma he cannot resolve by any precedent. But from the play's opening scene it is a foregone conclusion that the Pope's eventual decision to remain silent is the only justifiable course. There can be no

conflict. Nor can there be any "reply" to the larger questions—about the Church and anti-Semitism, about moral absolutes and institutional self-preservation, about the demands of prophetic witness and the moral responsibility for its consequences—which "The Deputy" raised. The pamphlet triumphs over the play.

Pamphlets, however, have their points; for one thing they are often very funny. The cast in the archetypal tract on dating, for example—hearty Father Bob and teen-agers Bill and Mary—are ready-made for the Theater of the Absurd. Likewise with "The Comforter." As a satire on Vatican life it has possibilities. Bepurpled ecclesiastics with faintly familiar names like Montini and Tardini stand about the stage with nothing to do but throw lines at one another like "Pius is the voice of truth" and drop references to Mother Pasquelina, Cardinal Spellman and the American Bishops' Relief Fund. These papal assistants constantly flatter the Pope who, in fair exchange, lectures them. They seldom supply him with information; when they do, he tells them he knew it all along. Two characters looking like Laurel and Hardy and making little jokes about the way the Socialists would run things wander into one scene; one consults the program and—lo!—it turns out they are Alcide de Gasperi and Pietro Nenni!

But pamphlets will have their obnoxious passages as well. When a Nazi field marshal eulogizes Luther's anti-Jewish writings, the only relevance of his tirade is to lift the burden of anti-Semitism from the shoulders of German Catholics (and by implication deposit it on German Lutherans). When the Chief Rabbi of Rome opens an interview with the Pope by saying, "The Old Testament greets the New," Pius replies in best schoolmarm fashion, "We think of ourselves as the Old Testament *fulfilled* in the New." The interview ends with the Rabbi (who should have learned his lesson) saying, "Blessings of Yahweh be with you always." The Pope, smiling at his own cleverness, comes back: "Blessings with you of *both* the Testaments." The Petrine one-upmanship was not lost on the audience, who clapped and laughed.

The author of "The Comforter," the Rev. Edward A. Molloy, C.Ss.R., started his dramatic career in the seminary. "We used to stage wonderful versions of the classics there," he told an interviewer; "but the rules insisted that all female roles be omitted. I was the one who wrote out the female roles." Father Molloy learned his lesson well. There are no females in "The Comforter," which is a fact of considerable strategic importance. Father Molloy's pamphlet may not last long off-Broadway; but it is assured a long run for years to come in seminaries and boys' high schools.

PETER STEINFELS

Vietnam: the Roots of the Chaos

WILLIAM PFAFF

In May 1962, in the pleasant penthouse dining room of the Caravelle Hotel in Saigon, an American diplomatic officer explained to me that the Viet Cong offensive in South Vietnam was merely the penultimate stage in a plan for the conquest of Asia that has been worked out in Moscow and Peking. I could not believe him.

A week later I sat in the back of an earth hut in a sun-baked little fortress in the Vietnamese highlands as a young militia officer described how he and his platoon-sized garrison defended the fortress and patrolled an area of the nearby Cambodian border. A *Montagnard* village lay across a stream, elegant longhouses with carved and painted beams, a few women and children, chickens, a dog. The fortress, manned by ethnic Vietnamese, was a hedgehog: a few huts connected by trenches, a tower, and weapons emplacements surrounded by a moat filled with sharpened bamboo rods. Beyond the bamboo were minefields. Beyond the minefields, the village, and then the Viet Cong. By night they controlled the area. Their camps were in the mountains nearby, and the previous New Year's they had mockingly sent the garrison the traditional New Year's gift of scarves. "Are the villagers friendly?" The question came from a visiting U.S. Marine Corps officer. The young militia leader gave a frightened glance towards the Vietnamese Army staff officer who escorted the American. "Yes," he said. "Of course they are very friendly." The Marine clearly did not believe him.

He did not believe him but he acted as if he did. If the villagers were not friendly, perhaps with a little more effort or some better programs they could be brought to like their defenders. The Americans in Vietnam have had to believe this; if this were not to be believed, then the United States was in great trouble in Vietnam.

A soldier said there were some elephants by the river beyond the village. We walked through the village, the women and children watching us from within the longhouses, until we reached the river and the edge of the forest. The elephant had moved away, so we took some

photographs of the river and of the longhouses, we unofficial members of the party, an English newspaperman, a Nationalist Chinese spy, and myself. The "spy" was an aggressively mysterious fat man who had inserted himself into the group at an airfield. American officers from Washington thought he was a reporter; to the reporters he implied that he had official status. He was, he told us, from a research institution. He showed us a dismantled .22 rifle in his TWA flight bag; he never travelled in this part of the world unarmed, he said. He also explained to us that Vietnamese were backward and untrustworthy; he had known them from the war years and before.

We gathered at our two helicopters. The crews had without fuss set up a casual defense perimeter covered by the machineguns that were bolted in the helicopter doors. They pulled in as we arrived, and we all loaded up and flew towards a provincial capital.

Ethnic Hostilities

The *Montagnard* are the aboriginal tribes, Malay-Polynesian in origin, of the Southeast Asian mountains—the Thai (not to be confused with the people of Thailand proper), the Muong, the Thô, and others—whose hostility towards the ethnic Vietnamese was again demonstrated this September when those near Ban Me Thuot, armed by U.S. Special Forces, rebelled against the Saigon government. They constitute one of modern Vietnam's problems. They despise the Vietnamese as conquerors and exploiters. The Vietnamese despise them as *Moi*—savages. Even in 1962 there was criticism of Special Forces for creating private armies to defend *Montagnard* villages and harass Viet Cong lines of communication. The Special Forces liked the *Montagnard* as the French had before them; Westerners in Asia and Africa usually are partial to aborigines and nomads in preference to the "spoiled" people of the cities and the aggressive activists of local political movements. The *Montagnard* bands even then would as happily have fought the lowland troops of Saigon as the Viet Cong, and many served with the Viet Cong who promised autonomy to the highland tribes. For these people there was no Vietnamese nation, only their own

WILLIAM PFAFF, a former editor of *The Commonwealth*, is co-author (with Edmund Stillman) of *The New Politics and The Politics of Hysteria: The Sources of Twentieth Century Conflict*.

nations, invaded by foreigners, but extending through the mountains into Cambodia and Laos.

The Chinese spy, buffoon though he seemed, was an instance of another Vietnamese problem. The Vietnamese people are ethnic kin of the Chinese and entered history as a restless kingdom lying partly in South China and partly in what now is North Vietnam. Despite their having taken much of their culture from China, including the Buddhist and Confucian systems, they have maintained a sense of national separateness and a tough and persistent resistance to Chinese political and military domination over most of the last 1,500 years. And the Chinese have never quite given up the notion that the Vietnamese are their satellites and tributaries.

After the tenth century A.D. the Vietnamese began a movement southward in which they encountered and obliterated the culturally Indian Champa kingdom of central (modern) Vietnam, and drove the Khmers (of Angkor Wat; the modern Cambodians) out of South Vietnam. The central areas fell around the fifteenth century, the south was fully occupied by the Vietnamese only at the end of the eighteenth century. Along the way the Vietnamese had conquered much of Cambodia and dominated that country until a rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. The Vietnamese had also fought a North-South civil war that lasted some two centuries and saw the country divided by fortifications along approximately the line of its present political division. Reunification took place in 1789 under a military government that was followed by another civil war in which the eventual victor made use of French mercenaries. He consolidated the country in 1801, and in 1802 the Emperor of China acknowledged Vietnam a tributary of the Manchu Court. The French soldiers left; Vietnam deliberately isolated itself, expelled Western missionaries and traders, and persecuted its Christians. But the French returned within forty years—this time officially—and began a conquest that was not substantially completed until 1888 and not completely finished until 1913. The Vietnamese, in short, are a tough and bloody-minded people who have been fighting either their neighbors or one another for well over a thousand years.

A History of Violence

Thus, despite its agricultural riches and natural prosperity, this nation is no tranquil and self-confident society being subverted by Communist aggression. There are few countries of the world whose modern history is a meaner record of war, conquest, and civil war. It exists in a zone of cultural aggression and defense, of North Asian civilization's expansion into the area of India's cultural influence, and in recent centuries of the West's violent intrusion. Long before Communism was a factor in Southeast Asian affairs, Vietna-

me society was giving evidence of shock and social disruption. The Mahayana Buddhism of the North has collided with the Hinayana of the South, and the "greater vehicle" tradition of the North is activist and "political"—the aggressiveness of Vietnamese Buddhism in recent months is not the anomaly it sometimes has been thought. The Confucian tradition persists in Vietnam; the old Mandarin examinations of the Chinese tradition were being given in Vietnam as late as the 1900s, after their abandonment in China, and the late Ngo Dinh Diem was a product of this tradition. Christianity and Western cultural influences have been more influential in Vietnam than in most areas of Asia, and the effects have been not only religious conversion and rivalry but syncretism.

Just as Chinese Buddhism has an ambiguous relationship with Tao and the Confucian system, and in Japan has been susceptible to animist influences and produced a series of popular cults, in Vietnam a peculiar series of syncretic religions have been thrown up that have usually been noted in the West more for their oddity and amusement value than for their true and rather bitter significance. Most bizarre is the Cao Dai, founded in 1919, an amalgam of Buddhism, Catholic Christianity, Tao and Confucianism. The organization is hierarchical on the Catholic model with a pontiff. The god of the sect is a "Supreme Tower" or Supreme Being represented as a Great Eye. The god is surrounded by lesser deities or saints who include Jesus Christ, the Lord Buddha, and such notable liberal personages as Victor Hugo and Sun Yat-Sen. The Cao Dai has a million adherents (in a total Vietnamese population of some thirty million) and an army of 25,000 men. Another is the Hao Hao, founded in 1939 by a faith healer. The French hospitalized him as mad, and he converted his psychiatrist. He was a friend of Ngo Dinh Diem. The Hao Hao, like the Cao Dai, served the Japanese in World War II with its own army. It fought the Viet Minh after the war, was reconciled to it and fought the French after 1946, then was subsidized by the French to fight the Viet Minh.

The sects were suppressed by Ngo Dinh Diem when he came to power but their remnants, surviving underground, provided part of the fighting power of the Viet Cong when that rebel movement arose against the new government in the late 1950s. The present government has attempted to reconcile the sects. Two-thirds of the population of Cochin China, the southernmost area of Vietnam, belongs to the sects.

The sects are important political and military forces, but their real significance lies in what they reveal about the emotional and cultural disorder of modern Vietnam. Their emergence in Cochin China, the region most recently settled by the Vietnamese and most strongly affected by French influences, is in character with the experience of other disrupted colonial areas. No contest

between cultures is without its costs, whatever the creative responses and valid syntheses that may result. The modern Western conquest of Asia (and Africa) has produced a cultural shock of unprecedented proportions, for the difference between the culture of the invaders and that of its victims has been a radical one. Asian conquests of the past had either been the result of wars between relatively equal and significantly related societies (as with the Vietnamese war against the Champas and Khmers), or the conquest of civilized societies by barbarians, as when the Mongols overran China. In the latter cases the civilized nations could preserve their own self-confidence despite physical conquest, and the typical outcome was the adoption by the invaders of the superior system over which they had obtained physical control. The conquered could, and did, play Greeks to the conquerors' Romans (or Romans to the conquerors' Barbarians), and the result was the survival and even the strengthening of the conquered civilization.

Civilized Invaders

But when Asia was invaded by the modern West after the sixteenth century, and particularly in the nineteenth, when the intellectual and scientific revolutions of modern Europe had taken place, no conquered Asian could console himself with a belief that the invaders were barbarians or would soon be "civilized." The invaders not only enjoyed an unprecedented power advantage—disciplined troops, breech-loading rifles and quick-firing artillery, telegraphy, and sophisticated administrative systems—but, more important, clearly were no barbarians. The scientific knowledge, social competence, religious idealism, and moral confidence of the West was overwhelming. The Indian or Chinese or Indochinese was at loss to defend *suttee*, caste, infanticide, the exploitation of women, slavery or serfdom against this challenge.

As colonial schools confidently indoctrinated their Asian students with the standards of Britain and France, with Victorian idealism and self-discipline, with the Encyclopaedist ideals of contemporary France, with Christianity, the result was a profound dislocation of

the local society. There were, of course, creative and sophisticated syntheses, but there also were total conversions that resulted in self-loathing by the converts; there were rebellions, and there were irrational responses—symbolic or talismanic syntheses that attempted to respond to the Western challenge by seizing elements or symbols from the invading cultures either in compromise or in defense. Thus the T'ai Peng movement in China—an amalgam of political revolt, social reform, and magical Christianity, whose leader proclaimed himself the Younger Brother of Christ. Thus the modern African messianic sects—the Kitwala, the "Zionists" of South Africa, most recently the Lumpa in Rhodesia, led by a mission-trained peasant woman, all of them naive attempts to establish their members as a "third race," separated from the native masses by their "sophisticated" redemptive religions, yet without total capitulation to the foreign system. Thus, surely, the sects of Indochina, with their naive amalgams of native religion, French Enlightenment symbols, and Catholicism.

The French in Indochina in the nineteenth century, and particularly in the South where their control was firmest and the local system least secure, imposed their own social and legal norms in great detail—an effort which subsequently was modified, but not until it produced a near-total breakdown of social autonomy and confidence. In 1885 the French civilian governor of Cochinchina admitted that "we have destroyed the past and nothing has taken its place. We are on the eve of a social revolution which began during the conquest." It is difficult for an observer of Vietnam in 1964 not to concede the prophecy.

One more thing must be said about cultural shock and synthesis in Vietnam. This obviously is a controversial and complex matter, but it can be argued that part of Communism's power in Asia derives from the fact that it provides an apparent means to seize the industrial power and discipline of the West while simultaneously rejecting the West. Marxism condemns the modern West as obsolete, as a discarded stage in the dialectical development of humanity. Yet it is, itself, pre-eminently a system of industrialization and physical power, of social organization on a purportedly post-Western model.

The greatest of Vietnamese converts to Marxism, Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Viet Minh rebellion and President of North Vietnam, came to Communism after a period as pastry-chef in the London Carlton under the great Escoffier. He had been involved in nationalist agitation in Hue where his father was a minor official with revolutionary sympathies. Ho's association with Communism followed a period of membership in the French Socialist Party in Paris after World War I. In 1921 he was a founding member of the French Communist Party. In the 1920s he was a Comintern agent



in China, an ally of Chiang Kai-shek until the Kuomintang attack on the Chinese Communists in 1927. He is, in short, the nearest thing to an Old Bolshevik that Asian Communism can claim, and his position today is strengthened by this long and influential role in the Communist movement.

A Non-Dogmatic Communist

Ho has never quite been the obedient international Communist agent that Moscow is supposed to expect. Even in the 1920s and 1930s he resisted some of the directives of the Europe-based Comintern, and like Mao Tse-tung recognized that Communism in Asia required more than a rigid application of Marxist-Leninist preconception. He worked in Siam and Hong Kong with Vietnamese refugees and published underground newspapers, and in 1941, in South China, formed the Viet Minh, the League for the Independence of Vietnam. The Viet Minh, with local Chinese support, carried out intelligence and guerrilla work in Japanese-controlled Vietnam. In 1944 they obtained American OSS support and a base inside Vietnam. It was Ho Chi Minh's return to his country after thirty-three years' absence.

By quite brilliant manipulation of the Americans and Chinese after the Japanese collapse, a clever and successful exploitation of the hiatus between the Japanese surrender and the return of French forces, and by means of the reputation of the Viet Minh itself as the only active and reasonably effective nationalist organization, Ho Chi Minh placed his organization in authority over much of Vietnam and Laos in 1945. His men took over Hanoi, although a British occupation force blocked them in Saigon. They staged clandestine elections throughout Vietnam and established a provisional government. The Emperor, Bao Dai, abdicated in their favor.

Their attempt to seize control of Vietnam with American acquiescence (American OSS officers continued to work with the Viet Minh) was blocked by the British in the South and by the eventual return in numbers of French troops. Paris then entered into negotiations with the Viet Minh for an agreement that would gratify, or at least appease, Vietnamese nationalism. Both sides continued to maneuver for position within Vietnam: the French pushed out their patrols to control the countryside, and non-Communist nationalist leaders were assassinated by the Viet Minh. The period of negotiations ended in November, 1946, when French forces, commanded by an inflexible colonialist (and Carmelite priest on leave from his monastery, the late Admiral Georges d'Argenlieu), under circumstances that still are unclear, bombarded the port of Haiphong causing six thousand Vietnamese casualties. Ho made a final bid for a settlement in a cable to his old ac-

quaintance Léon Blum, new premier of France, but the cable was delayed by the Saigon censor. The Viet Minh's General Giap had already given a mobilization order, and by the beginning of 1947 Ho and the Viet Minh leadership had gone into the mountains and the Indochina war was under way.

The Viet Minh dropped its most prominent Communist members and framed a nationalist appeal; for three years they fought a moderately successful guerrilla campaign against the French. The Chinese Communists, in the final stages of their own conquest of the Kuomintang, reached the Indochinese border in April, 1949, and began to furnish counsel, training, and some logistical support to the Viet Minh. The Viet Minh declared themselves Communists, dropping their multi-party form, and in January, 1950, were recognized as a government by Peking. Insurrectionary warfare was changed into mobile warfare, making use of organized Viet Minh formations. In 1950 Ho and Giap assumed the strategic offensive against the French and were not to lose it until victory in 1955.

The war which began with guerrilla skirmishes and assassinations was by 1955 a struggle in which units of division size and larger engaged in formal warfare with artillery and armor. The French had some 350,000 troops committed, all of them regulars, and enjoyed control of the air and the sea, although their air force was quite small. The war was not ended by military defeat as such; the French could have fought on after Dien Bien Phu, and Premier Mendès-France in fact reinforced his troops in Vietnam after that disaster. It was ended by political decision. The French nation was no longer willing to sustain the costs that the war demanded in men and resources. American support for the French had been related to the war the Americans had been fighting in Korea, but which now was shut down by armistice. There was no American confidence in the French ability, fighting on, to do more than keep the situation open, and American interest had shifted to a "Third Force" solution.

The United States, moreover, was unwilling to intervene itself. An appeal for an air strike at Dien Bien Phu was turned down and Washington reasonably feared that an intervention by American ground forces could



bring the Chinese in, as it had in Korea. Moreover, Washington understood that the American public was profoundly reluctant to undertake another ground campaign on the Asian mainland. Refusing to intervene, the United States also refused to take part in the Geneva negotiations that partitioned Vietnam. The French were left to their humiliation, and the United States entered the situation in Saigon as backer, and banker, of a new premier.

The Return of Diem

Ngo Dien Diem had returned from exile in (among other places) a Maryknoll house in the United States determined to impose upon South Vietnam a unity and a national code that would insure its survival, and, eventually, its reconquest of the North. He concentrated power in his own office and deposed the Emperor with dispatch. His support from the United States was very nearly unlimited. Bernard Fall, the best American interpreter of the recent history of Vietnam, estimates, for example, that as much as twelve million American dollars were spent in two months of 1955 by Diem to bribe dissident warlords. Political rivals in Saigon were outmaneuvered. The warlords and sect armies, at first bribed into inaction, were shortly suppressed by the national army. Diem's early accomplishments, made from a start amidst political collapse and despair in Saigon and with the new premier virtually isolated and unknown, were ruthless but impressive.

His government received a significant endorsement when something like a million northerners—eight percent of the northern population—moved south following the armistice, most of them Catholics. He arranged a further endorsement with a national referendum (on the issue of establishing a republic) which produced a vote of 98.2 percent in his favor and 1.1 percent against. Even the Viet Minh was shocked to find their own weapons of intimidation and rigged voting used against them so effectively. He and his American advisors then launched a series of reforms, notably land reform, and began to reorganize and retrain the national army—as a conventional field force on the Korean model. The militia and the village self-defense forces were neglected.

Diem's virtues were personal incorruptibility and intransigence; and it may be argued that they condemned him to his eventual death. He refused the nation-wide elections and the plan for reunification which were specified in the Geneva settlement. He isolated the North, imposing a ban on trade and communications. But having restored security and some self-confidence in the South, he could not reconcile the groups whose power he had broken, and these groups maintained their identity. The remnants of the sects went underground with their weapons. The liberal politicians were driven into exile or resistance, or were imprisoned. "Re-

education camps" were established for political prisoners, of whom there were increasing numbers as the years passed; and the definition of political dissidence was very wide and came to include discontented peasants, troubled army officers, and liberal Catholics. The government was nominally democratic, protecting itself against subversion. It actually was an oligarchy established by *coup*, centered upon the Diem family, and that family was mandarin, northern and Catholic.

The old divisions of Vietnam were awakened again. The southern population was restless under this "foreign" government, southern officials and army officers dominated by exiles from the north, Buddhists resentful of a government of Catholics and the government increasingly disposed to consider Buddhism evidence of potential subversion. The "personalism" which the regime preached as national doctrine bore little resemblance to the French Catholic social philosophy from which it took its name. One Frenchman, long resident in Saigon, described personalism, after a moment's thought, as "Petainism." Bernard Fall quotes a French diplomat as comparing Diem to Charles Maurras, the French rightist and nationalist. Diem himself once told a visitor that he was "a Spanish Catholic." Like Petainism, personalism in Vietnam was intensely conservative in its rhetoric, enjoining labor and discipline in the nation; and in practice it came to be an authoritarian system of ideological uniformity and corporate social organization.

The police, controlled by the brilliant and increasingly powerful Ngo Dinh Nhu, were repressive: then as now there was torture and indiscriminate killing. Local administration was rigid and exploitative. Decisions could be made only in Saigon, and then very often only by Diem. Officials and army officers were judged by their personal loyalty to the family, and usually were Catholic, northern—and even then were not trusted.

Truth and Blindness

Nearly all the criticisms made by American reporters during the last Diem years were valid. The objection to be made to them is that most of the critics suffered from a variant of the same blindness that afflicted the American officials who insisted that Diem's programs were successful and gave him unqualified support: both believed that social reform, reform essentially on American models, could save the situation in Vietnam, and they differed only in their willingness to believe, or make themselves believe, that these reforms were being carried out. The officials insisted, with some justice, that Diem was the only non-Communist figure in Vietnam who had demonstrated his competence to hold power and rule. If he was rigid, he also was honest and high-minded. If he was harsh, that was in the Vietnamese tradition. And in any event, the American operations

NOVEMBER 6, 1964 187

and information missions in the field would be successful in making the peasants understand the justice of the democratic cause.

The critics insisted, truthfully, that the war was being lost and that many of the military measures and political programs put forward by the regime and faithfully supported by the American embassy were frauds, or actually made the situation worse. The much-publicized program of strategic hamlets was an example of both. It was publicized as a new scheme to clear the countryside of Viet Cong, whereas it was actually a new version of an old and not particularly successful program. Its progress was vastly exaggerated, and the actual accomplishment was hasty and many of the armed and fortified hamlets rapidly were reclaimed by the Viet Cong, providing the rebels with new weapons. Others, built up by means of the forced resettlement of peasants from outlying areas, were put together so brutally that the villagers, whatever their previous sentiments, were permanently embittered.

The critics also argued, justly, that the United States was increasingly in the position of prisoner of its supposed client: it loyally defended and supported the regime, and had committed its prestige to the Diem government and its programs. Mr. McNamara's statements were less qualified with each new visit, and Ambassador Nolting had wholly committed himself and his staff to President Diem, though this may have been on orders from Washington. The result was that the United States was without leverage in dealing with the regime. It could consistently be blackmailed by a government which not only was more cynical than its sponsor, but in order to survive at all had to resist and obstruct the foreigner: it had to maintain its identity as a Vietnamese government, not an American puppet.

The critics of the Diem government, though, were victims of the illusion that there was a liberal and democratic solution to the turmoil of Vietnam which lay just beyond the Diem government: depose the Diems and liberalism would be liberated. They believed that the Vietnamese people yearned for self-expression and representative government, and that freed of the Diems they would free themselves of the Viet Cong. But there is no evidence that the Vietnamese people wanted anything more complicated than to be left alone.

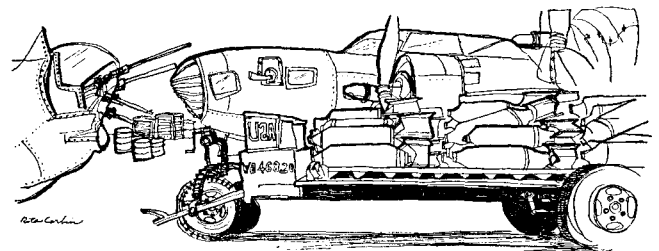
The renewal of rebellion took place after 1957. Why it took place still is argued. The explanation put forward by the Vietnamese and American governments and accepted by most observers is that North Vietnam, failing to get the all-Vietnamese elections promised in the Geneva settlement, ordered a new war. Certainly Communist cadres had remained in the villages after the partition of 1955; but then they very likely had lived there. Arms were hidden for subsequent recovery. By 1957 incidents of violence and terrorism were fairly widespread, and in 1959 a significant movement of men

from North to South is said to have taken place by sea and by the long walk through Laos, men originally from the South returning to their villages. A National Liberation Front which included non-Communists was established at the end of 1960, and during the following year it set up an underground administrative structure in rivalry to the Saigon Government. The National Liberation Front purportedly controls the Viet Cong forces; "Viet Cong" is merely an insulting term for Vietnamese Communists.

Another argument is made by Philippe Devillers, author of the standard French work on the early stages of the First Indo-chinese War. He contends that the excesses of the Diem government provoked a rebellion that Hanoi feared and at first attempted to discourage. He says that Hanoi was at a loss to cope with Diem's refusal of nationwide elections and could get little diplomatic support from either China or Russia. It feared the consequences of rebellion in the South and fully supported it only after the Diem government began to loose its grip on the countryside and the Southern rebels seemed on their way to success. Writing in 1962 (in *China Quarterly*) he added: "The risk now for Hanoi is that the Front, which is essentially a Southern movement, should remain open to non-Marxist influences coming from powers which, for example, considering the victory of the Front as a virtual certainty, might wish in this way at least to make some provision for the future." Whether the Front has remained open to such influences in the two years since may be known in Paris. One would like to think so.

A History of Involvement

One more factor in the Vietnamese situation which must be noted is that the American involvement in that country goes back rather further than commonly is appreciated, and is not distinguished by consistency. Late in World War II the OSS cooperated with the Viet Minh against the Japanese—and against the French. The latter policy was derived from a general American decision to block France's return to Vietnam and associate the United States with the nationalist successor-government. Bernard Fall, and many Frenchmen, insist with some bitterness that this was a personal and essentially irresponsible decision by Mr. Roosevelt. The President was determined that American influence



would be used to end both British and French colonialism in Asia, but he was not alone in this: he spoke for a national consensus. Mr. Roosevelt's understanding of international politics, as George Kennan and others, less courteous, have pointed out, was seriously defective, and the decision on Vietnam clearly was taken amidst ignorance of the country and of the potential consequences. But it reflected the unqualifiedly anti-colonial mood of America in the late war years.

Under this policy the American forces in South China and the OSS detachments with the Viet Minh forces inside Vietnam obstructed the Free French when they tried to return to Vietnam. U.S. officers in Hanoi after the Japanese surrender affected indifference to those French who had managed to reach the city and to the French who had remained in the country (under Vichy rule) during the war and were in prison camps guarded by the Japanese under Viet Minh authority. Pierre Messmer, for example, was one Frenchman imprisoned by the Viet Minh while OSS agents refused to help him; today, of course, he is France's Minister of Defense. The events of this period still are bitterly resented by many French civilians and Army officers who suffered personal humiliation and even torture, and regarded it as betrayal by an ally.

The United States not only supported the Viet Minh against the French in the period of the Japanese capitulation, but according to Fall (who is supported by a Rand Corporation study) supplied arms and equipment to the Viet Minh from Thailand, Nationalist Chinese stores, and the Philippines even after the outbreak of war between the Indochinese rebels and the French. Fall says that some of the old and unmarked American C-46 aircraft still used in Laos and Vietnam in American clandestine operations bear the same serial numbers as the aircraft that French reconnaissance pilots photographed on Communist-held airstrips in Vietnam in the early years of the Indochina war.

It is not entirely irrelevant to take note of this. The American record in Vietnam is one of support for the Viet Minh against the Japanese, the Vichy French, and the Free French; apparently of support for them in rebellion against post-war France; of support for France against the Viet Minh after the Korean War had begun; of support for Ngo Dinh Diem and other nationalist figures against both the French and the Viet Minh; of support for a coup against Diem; of support for the officers who made the coup, and now for the officers who succeeded them. Each policy may be defended in terms of the conditions and prospects of the time, but the record is one neither of success nor of insight into the realities of the Vietnamese situation. If there is consistency in it, it is of a consistent search for a "third force" which would embody the supposed will of the people, for a group in Vietnam whom the United States could recognize as politically kin to the United States

itself. We wanted to be midwives to Vietnamese democracy.

We found many "third forces," but none of them met our expectations; and the search was a costly one in French, Vietnamese, and American lives, and perhaps in more than lives. Graham Greene wrote a very bitter and not very good book about precisely this eight years ago. In *The Quiet American* he called Americans virgins, and said "we don't have so many in Europe. I'm glad. They do a lot of harm."

The American Presence

Yet we Americans today are in Vietnam. We are implicated. And Vietnamese government and society are disintegrating about us. There is serious doubt that the Vietnam of today can be mobilized for anything. It is a society which is fragmented and shocked: by nearly twenty-five years of uninterrupted violence, by the intrusion of Western politics, power, and ideas, beginning with the French invasion of a century and a half ago—but also by Vietnam's own inner violence and disorientation. Unless one understands this, Vietnam is incomprehensible. To quote Greene again, "This was a land of rebellious barons. It was like Europe in the middle ages. But what were the Americans doing here? Columbus had not yet discovered their country."

That we may be anachronisms in Vietnam does not discharge our responsibility. It is indispensable that the strict American interest in Southeast Asia be defined more clearly than it usually is in public discussion. In attempting to do so I will assume that the political reform and liberalization of Southeast Asia, desirable as it is, is beyond the competence of the United States to bring about. Indeed, that American efforts to reform local conditions can usually be relied upon to make things worse, not because of ill-will or necessary maladroitness on the part of American officials and agents, but because one of the things that is wrong with Indochina is that the West is there.

The American interest seems to me to be to maintain a power position in Southeast Asia that inhibits the expansion of China and provides a countervailing influence to Chinese diplomacy and military blackmail. As Frank Trager has put it, the Chinese Communists "are making prescriptive claims [on Southeast Asia] based on China's imperial past, though their strategy and tactics may vary according to Communist winds of doctrine. Peripheral territories are no longer described as feudal or tributary, but in effect these terms might well be applied to Tibet, the borderlands claimed from Burma and India, and in the relationship of North Vietnam and North Korea to Peking." The United States has a political interest, an established commitment, to provide the countervailing force. We have tried reform and client governments in Vietnam (and Laos) and

they have not succeeded: yet the interest remains, reinforced by China's new and politically meaningful nuclear accomplishment, the recent humiliation of India, and Japan's—present, at least—political passivity and detachment from events on the Asian continent.

Alternative Policies

In default of present policies, the lines of action open to the United States would seem to be these:

1. Overt intervention with major United States forces. The usual objections to this are that China would intervene in turn and that American ground troops would be swallowed up in an "unwinnable" jungle war. These objections may be valid, and certainly are sustained by an evident public reluctance to allow an American commitment to mainland war; but they are not self-evidently true. China's rail and road communications into Vietnam are very limited, and China's economy is in no position to sustain a major war. Whether Russian aid would be provided by the new regime in Moscow obviously is impossible to predict; the Khrushchev government probably would not have done so. The truth is that if any power is in a position to land "hordes" of troops in Vietnam and adequately to supply them, it is the United States.

Could the United States win such a war? It seems unlikely that it would try to win a war limited to Vietnam. There almost certainly would be action against China proper. The United States could severely punish any Chinese intervention into Vietnam and probably could defeat it with conventional forces at very heavy costs in men and by means of a long and difficult struggle.

If the Chinese did not intervene, could the United States defeat the Viet Cong? An imposing case can be made that that American ground forces, aggressively led and enjoying numbers and equipment denied to the French in 1949-1955, could drive the Viet Cong into the forests, break up its concentrations, and indefinitely contain it at the level of banditry and isolated terrorism. This again would be an expensive commitment, and if it were done would have to be done suddenly and on a large scale so as to exploit the shock of intervention. The principal argument in favor of such a policy is that it might reverse a deteriorating situation throughout Southeast Asia.

The principal argument against it is the same argument that must be made against war on China proper. The United States almost certainly would not know what to do with a success once it had it. If we are not competent to impose stability upon South Vietnam now, we are unlikely to be able to do it for Vietnam and China in the aftermath of major war. We could conquer; but as conquerors what would we do? It is delusion to think that the masses of Vietnam (or China) discrimi-

nate among their white invaders, or comprehend the benevolent rhetoric of American policymakers and press. And we have neither the political nor the moral ability to sustain indefinitely a conquest of a hostile population. I cannot conceive of a victory over the Viet Cong or the Chinese which would be preferable to the present situation, bad as it is; and I can think of many outcomes that would be worse.

2. An extension of the present policy of rather desperate support for the most likely figures in a shifting political situation, and of limited covert military intervention—perhaps to include major sabotage in North Vietnam and the use of Americans to interdict Viet Cong communications—together with unlimited overt support to the Vietnamese National Army. Such a policy quite possibly would fail, the Vietnamese army defeated as the French army was before it, or the government either disintegrating entirely or ending in a neutralist coup that would demand U.S. withdrawal and direct negotiations with the Viet Cong.

The principal thing to be said for such a course of action is that it might not fail. The war might be dragged on until something turned up—and things do turn up in war and politics; buying time is not necessarily a mistake. If a neutralist coup occurred, the result might save more of Vietnam from total Viet Cong control than any other solution. And in such a situation we may hope that the Viet Cong's National Liberation Front has remained open to "non-Marxist influences" and that some other power had made "some provisions for the future."

3. The United States might seek, or quietly encourage the French to seek, a neutralization of Southeast Asia. This is perhaps the most promising of alternatives, even though it could constitute a "defeat" for the United States. It need not be a defeat, and such an agreement need not be entirely to the Communists' advantage. American sea and air power in Asia are potentially great incentives to a reasonable settlement, and influential deterrents to violation. A neutralization that took in more than South Vietnam alone (Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia has proposed that Burma, Laos, and Cambodia be included, and there is no apparent reason why a proposal for such a neutral zone should not include North Vietnam and Communist-occupied Laos as well), that was underwritten by the threat of U.S. air and sea action against military and logistical targets in North Vietnam, and that was guaranteed by the great powers with an American right to intervention in the case of violations, might provide a workable temporary solution. It would not provide a permanent settlement of Southeast Asia's crisis. It would not change Chinese policy or ambitions. It would not heal the wounds of Vietnam. But it would buy time and halt the killing. And the first seems an intelligent political goal for the United States; the second simply seems worthwhile.

Mid Point in the Session

GREGORY BAUM

AFTER THE conciliar discussion of the declaration on religious liberty, another declaration was proposed to the Council by the Secretariat of Christian Unity. This one dealt with the Jews and other non-Christians. At the beginning of the preparatory period of the Council, Pope John had asked the Secretariat to elaborate a statement on the Jews, but in the course of the years, whenever this statement came up for discussion at various conciliar boards to be approved for printing and distribution, it was found that opposition to it was considerable among a few prelates. To insist on the religious character of the statement and to pacify other religions, brief references to non-biblical religions, especially to Islam, were added to the statement, though the first intention was to deal simply with the relationship of Christians and Jews.

The section on the Jews was divided basically into two parts. One dealt with doctrine, showing the birth of the Christian Church within the people of Israel and explaining the lasting relationship of the Church and the Jews. The other dealt with practical matters such as encouragement of dialogue between Jews and Christians, condemnation of hatred and persecution of Jews, and admonitions to preachers and catechists to say nothing in the presentation of the Gospel which could cause contempt for the Jews in the hearts of their listeners. In particular the ancient legend which regarded the Jews as an accursed and a deicide people was refuted.

The declaration proposed to the Council differed somewhat from the text distributed to the Fathers last year during the second session. In particular the refutation of the deicide legend had been deleted. A brief paragraph referring to the Church's eschatological hope in regard to Israel was awkwardly worded and suggested to Jewish readers that the Church was calling Christians to renewed missionary action among Jews. The origin of these changes is obscure. According to the frank words of Archbishop Heenan on the Council floor, they are not the work of the Secretariat of Christian Unity. Whose work are they? The only choice left is the Coordinating Commission chaired by Cardinal Cicognani, the Vatican Secretary of State.

The declaration was received with great enthusiasm

by the Council. Speaker after speaker declared that it was absolutely necessary to make a clear statement on the brotherly relations between Christians and Jews. Emphatic support came from Cardinals Léger, Ritter, Cushing, Meyer, Koenig, Frings, Lercaro, Lienart, from bishops Pocock, O'Boyle, Shehan, Leven, from Dutch, German, French, Mexican, Polish, Brazilian, English bishops, some of whom spoke in the name of their national hierarchies. Most of these speakers mentioned that they preferred the original version of the declaration and insisted that the refutation of the deicide myth be again included in the document.

Only a group of Eastern-rite bishops, who live in or near the Arab world, was unhappy about the declaration. Cardinal Tappouni, speaking in the name of 4 other Eastern Patriarchs (not, however, for the Maronite Patriarch), insisted that the declaration was inopportune. He said that he found nothing wrong with the doctrinal content and was not opposed to a condemnation of anti-Semitism, but he feared that the declaration would make the Church's pastoral life very difficult in Arab lands. In the tradition of the East it is difficult to distinguish between religion and politics, and thus a statement on Christian-Jewish relations would be interpreted as taking sides in the conflict between the Arab countries and the State of Israel.

FROM THE speeches made in the Council it became clear that the declaration expresses the wish of the vast majority of bishops. Since the relation of Christians and Jews is part of divine salvation history, it is a subject closely related to the Gospel, and however unfortunate may be the political situation, the Church cannot at this point permit that her teaching be influenced by anything save religious considerations. If the Council is left its freedom, the declaration will most certainly be approved and accepted.

What are the reasons for this opposition among these Eastern bishops and even among some of the more traditionally minded Western prelates? Is it simply due to Arab pressure? This pressure is certainly great. Arab governments continually send missions to Rome to deal with the Pope or the Secretary of State. But are there other reasons? We must admit that anti-Jewish sentiment is ancient and deep in the life of the Church. In particular, certain Eastern liturgies perpetuate the

FATHER GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A., author of *Progress and Perspectives* (Sheed & Ward), is now in Rome as a theological adviser at the third session of the Council.

deicide myth and pronounce dreadful curses on the Jews. Some of the Eastern bishops have declared that if their faithful were suddenly told that the Jews are not guilty of deicide and not an accursed people, they might falter in their faith, feeling that the teaching of their liturgy can no longer be trusted. While such a supposition is undoubtedly extreme, the sad fact remains that according to the most ancient traditions of East and West, Christian preachers and teachers have continually blamed Jewry contemporary to them for the things that happened at the death of Jesus. There may be a few bishops of Southern Europe today who feel that the present declaration would reverse traditional teaching and therefore confuse the faithful.

Anti-Semitic pamphlets written by fanatics abound during this session. From unknown sources bishops receive by mail pamphlets and printed sheets accusing the Jews of plotting against Church and humanity and making use of this Council to further their universal conspiracy. No bishop of America or Northern Europe would even dream of giving credence to such tales: they throw away this literature in disgust. It convinces them even more that there is need for a declaration on Jewish-Christian friendship.

While the conciliar discussion continued, the Fathers proceeded to vote upon the documents prepared during and after the second session. In particular, the first three chapters of the schema on the ecumenical movement, composed by the Secretariat of Christian Unity, were approved by the Council with an overwhelming majority. This was a great grace and we were grateful for it! The document on ecumenism and the brotherly relations among Christians will have a renewing—one might almost say—revolutionary—influence on Catholic life and teaching. In areas where the ecumenical spirit has not been encouraged until now, the conciliar document will produce a salutary shock. The document teaches us that even as Church we can be subject to self-seeking and group-egotism; in reality we protect the Church not by building walls around her or insisting on her privileges, but by reaching beyond ourselves in acknowledging the bond of faith and charity among all baptized Christians.

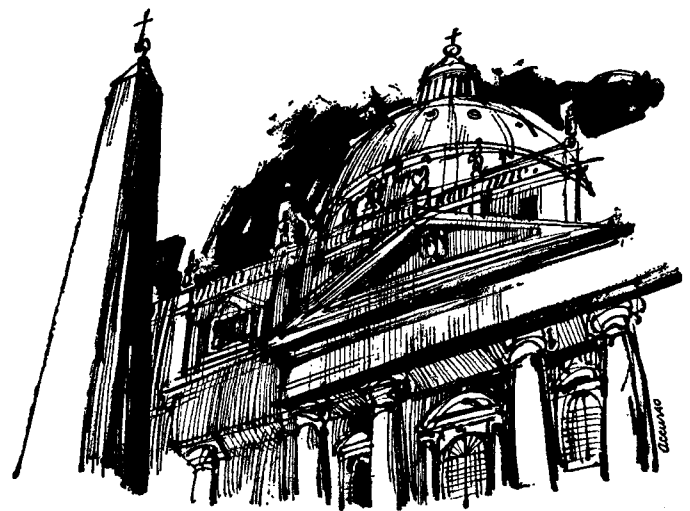
THE CONCILIAR discussion continued on the subject of divine revelation. In the first session a schema on the sources of revelation had been rejected. Since then the document has been largely rewritten. The present schema *De Divina Revelatione* reflects the concerns of contemporary Catholic theology, and even where the document remains vague it leaves the door open for future developments. In the very first chapter it becomes clear that revelation is not understood as the communication of divine truths; instead revelation is defined as the self-communication of God to man. God does not reveal truths, but he reveals Himself; and He does so by

acting and speaking in the history of Israel and finally in His Son Jesus. Here again the schema stresses that revelation comes to us in the *person of Christ*, i.e., not just in the teachings of Jesus, but in His life, His actions, His very existence. In the reflection on God's self-revelation the Church has formulated her creed, but this creed never exhausts the self-giving of God in Christ.

To non-theologians these matters may appear rather abstract. Yet it is clear that if we regard revelation as God's self-communication, then the act of faith by which we acknowledge divine revelation does not simply lay hold of some truths about God but mediates an encounter with the eternal God revealing His mercy. The life of faith becomes thus more truly personal. God continues to speak and act in me as I believe in His self-communication in Christ. One might say that contemporary Catholic theology and the renewal of catechetics are based on this understanding of revelation. It is my opinion that we have here the *formal* difference between the traditional approach of the manuals and present-day theology.

The schema *De Divina Revelatione* bypasses the question of "one" or "two sources" of revelation. It regards God's self-revelation in Israel and, finally, in Jesus, historically and shows how the entire message and gift of salvation are contained in the apostolic Tradition. This apostolic Tradition, the standard or norm of Christian life and wisdom, is transmitted in the Church in a two-fold way, by the Scriptures, which are the written record of the apostolic preaching, and by Tradition, which is the divinely protected life of faith of the whole Catholic Church. Scripture and Tradition are inseparably united. Tradition announces, explains, and applies the Scriptures; and the Scriptures stir up, fructify and purify Tradition.

The schema says nothing about the respective extent of Scripture and Tradition. Some Catholics believe that Tradition is wider than Scripture, while others hold that the entire revelation of God is contained in the Scriptures as well as in Tradition. Between these and various



intermediary positions, the schema does not wish to choose. These questions are left open.

One criticism regarding the notion of Tradition was repeatedly made at the Council. There is a tendency in the schema to identify the divine Tradition in the Church with the entire life of the Church. Unless this is corrected, such a tendency could level to consecrating as divine the *status quo* of the Church. Not everything traditional in the Church belongs to her divine Tradition. In fact at certain times some teachings deeply rooted in Tradition are almost forgotten in the life of the Church, while at other times human speculations and practices are almost regarded as part of the authentic apostolic Tradition. It remains therefore the constant task of Christians and especially of bishops to distinguish the authentically Christian within the life of the Church. Cardinal Meyer insisted in a speech that for the sake of purifying and vivifying Tradition God had given the Church an unchanging norm, namely the Scriptures, by which she constantly tests her life and teaching. It is to be hoped that this thought, so frequently repeated by the progressive bishops, will be taken up in the schema.

THE CHAPTERS of the schema dealing with the Scriptures were on the whole satisfactory. Scholars are granted the freedom they require, for the good of the whole Church. At the same time the role of Scripture as Word of God in the Church is emphasized as in no other ecclesiastical document.

There was a good deal of opposition to the schema from the other side. In fact, a minority report was read, composed by the members of the Theological Commission who did not approve of the document. They felt that revelation should be defined in terms of truths revealed by God, that Tradition should be declared as being wider than the Scripture, and that biblical exegesis should be traditional rather than scientific. We had to listen to a lot of Tanqu ry and Herv ! But since this group of bishops is small and since the deeper insights of the schema are not really in contradiction to the old positions but rather complete them or place them in a wider doctrinal context, it is likely that the schema will be strengthened rather than weakened in its affirmation of the contemporary understanding of revelation.

There is much to report concerning this schema and the episcopal discussion that would be of interest, much that is profound and consoling; but this would take too long. We here touch upon the very source of Catholic renewal in life and doctrine. Along with the Constitutions on the Liturgy and on the Church, the Constitution on Divine Revelation will constitute a magnificent trilogy of teaching, giving the Second Vatican Council an inner unity and making its achievement balanced, Catholic, and central to the life of the Church.

The following schema on the lay apostolate was heavily criticized. It was accused by many bishops of being too clerical. There was a tendency in the document to regard the apostolate of the laity as a prolongation of the hierarchical mission. It was not clearly taught that the mission of the laity was, over and above the participation in ecclesiastical or liturgical activity, the transformation of the human environment, and that in this action they are independent of the hierarchical ministry. By teaching the Gospel and celebrating the sacramental liturgy, the ordained priests form the conscience of the laity, but in the application of their moral sense and in the choice of their activity the laity are independent. It is up to them to see the environment in which they live as the field in which God wants them to be a ferment in the evolution of society. In this sense the apostolate of the laity is "worldly," not "ecclesiastical."

Many of the schemata prepared for the Council have been reduced to a series of propositions. Some of these have been submitted to the Council; others will be submitted later. While at first there was to be no debate at all, there is now, thanks to the insistence of the bishops, a conciliar discussion of the various propositions. It is doubtful to me, however, whether this procedure will lead to documents that will assume importance in the life of the Church. It is almost inevitable that such brief documents repeat the obvious or remain vague enough to please everyone. Their fate may be that of the decree on mass media: no one in the Church is really concerned about it, no one cites it, nobody seeks inspiration in it. The important contribution of the Council to many practical problems will be found in the great dogmatic constitutions, not in the brief propositions.

Yet the schema on the Church in the modern world is an important document, the discussion of which is awaited with eagerness. Even if this session does not come to any conclusion about this vast area of inquiry, it is very important that it be discussed in the conciliar hall.

I cannot be altogether silent about the crisis of the Council which began on Friday, October 9, even if my knowledge of it is based mainly on the reports of the press. According to *Il Messagero*, *Le Monde*, the *New York Times*, and other well-known papers, two letters were sent to Cardinal Bea telling him that the two declarations on the Jews and on religious liberty were no longer under the sole responsibility of the Secretariat of Christian Unity. The declaration on the Jews was to be inserted in the Constitution on the Church, and the document on religious liberty was to be rewritten by a small mixed commission. Some members known for their opposition to religious liberty were already named. The letters were signed by Archbishop Felici, the General Secretary of the Council. The letters suggested that

this was the wish of the Pope. At the same time rumors circulated that the small curial party opposed to the schema on the Church in the modern world was trying to prevent its free discussion at the Council, and that they still exerted pressure on the Pope to stop him from promulgating the Constitution on the Church with its chapter 3 on collegiality. According to the same newspapers the Council was seething with apprehension. If the declaration on religious liberty were substantially weakened, irreparable harm would be done to the life of the Church in a large part of the world and a clear principle of the Gospel as understood by all Christians today would be obscured.

Again, according to the same newspapers, the crisis broke when a group of progressive cardinals took action and succeeded in getting in touch with Pope Paul. It seemed that the Pope did not know the precise content of the two letters written to Cardinal Bea by Archbishop

Felici. The newspapers reported that the work of the Secretariat of Unity was to proceed as if the two letters had never been written. The crisis, which was overcome, among other factors, by the action of the cardinals, was perhaps a useful reminder to the bishops of the Council that vigilance is constantly required. The opposition to the conciliar majority, small though this may be, will continue for a while and we must still expect other attempts to undo at least some of the work of the Council.

The source for the newspaper reports was, according to the press, the information service of CELAM, the episcopal conference of South America. When the layman in charge of the news service was accused of indiscretion, he was ready to resign from his post, but the South American bishops to whom he was responsible refused to accept his resignation. They must have regarded his action as part of the lay apostolate.

A Greater Role for Laymen?

Reforming the Seminaries

JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE

ALTHOUGH THE critical reassessment of Catholic higher education initiated in the mid 1950's by Monsignor John Tracy Ellis did not immediately deal with the American seminary, the intervening years have seen a steady increase in the criticism of that institution. Father Stafford Poole, writing in *America* (Tomorrow's Seminaries," Jan. 18) could say that it is now fashionable for Catholic intellectuals to look down on the training of priests with a mixture of tolerance and amused condescension.

Yet, in fact, it seems that toleration and amused condescension are elements noticeably absent from the discussion. Father Sergius Wroblewski, O.F.M., for instance, has said: "Generally, seminary training is too authoritarian. . . . It is content with orders and commands and human tasks that have immediate tangible results. And what is the result? The seminary rears a man incapable of assuming his sacred and human commitments, a man who very soon loses his desire of using his liberty on the plane of personal generosity."

Since the broad general directives concerning seminaries destined to emanate from Vatican II will be spelled out into detail by the bishops of each country,

it could be argued that the current debate on seminary effectiveness is a providentially inspired prerequisite for the coming rejuvenation of a four-hundred-year-old institution. At first glance it would seem that most of the criticism directed toward seminary training has come from lay sources. The evaluations of the seminary offered in the more comprehensive discussions of American Catholic life in Daniel Callahan's *The Mind of the Catholic Layman* and Michael Novak's *A New Generation* are sufficiently provocative to insure as long a stay on the Catholic best-seller list as that enjoyed by Thomas O'Dea's *American Catholic Dilemma* which appeared six years ago.

Less publicized but equally important have been the evaluations presented in the papers and the discussions of the seminary departments of the National Catholic Educational Association. The remarks of Father Wroblewski quoted earlier are an unusually straightforward but certainly not unique illustration of a growing tendency on the part of seminary officials to objectively reappraise the academic and moral formation value of an institution previously exempt from such questioning.

Any attempt to critically evaluate today's seminaries should be prefaced with the understanding that the widely varying pattern of American seminaries makes it somewhat difficult to generalize on their effectiveness.

FATHER JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE, now serving as an assistant pastor in Mt. Rainier, Maryland, received his M.A. in philosophy from Catholic University.

When presented with the criticism that today's seminary is academically inadequate, excessively disciplined and inimical to personal initiative, the defender of the system can reply by citing a number of institutions that do not fall into that classification. But the evidence that has been discovered up to this time could be considered as reinforcing the privately expressed concerns of seminary officials and the more publicized fears of the lay critics. A study made in 1960 by Father Cyril Dukehart indicated that over forty percent of American seminaries had fewer than 50 students. A sample survey of the seminary entries in the 1964 Kenedy Catholic Directory reveals that there has been no significant change in this pattern. One does not need a Master's Degree in Education to appreciate the academic inefficiency involved in maintaining over 200 separate but similar institutions with fewer than 50 students in each.

ADDITIONAL SUPPORT for a critical view of seminary discipline has been supplied by the Brooks study of the adjustment problems of 200 former major seminarians. Over one-third of those interviewed reported difficulty in exercising initiative and in making decisions following their departure from the seminary. A significant number of these informants regarded this tendency as a carry-over from their previous passive reliance on seminary discipline. Thus on the basis of available evidence it would seem that the critics who have recently attributed much of the clergy's temporizing on socio-moral issues to the fact that a number of today's clergy were trained in passively orientated institutions have raised questions which deserve serious consideration.

The interval that will occur between the general directives on seminaries issued by Vatican II and their more detailed implementation by our nation's hierarchy would present an ideal opportunity for a comprehensive examination of the American seminary. Shortly after the promulgation of the directive on seminaries, the American Bishops could name a commission to review the entire seminary system in the United States with the double purpose of rating its efficiency and making pertinent recommendations regarding the implementation of the conciliar decrees.

In its survey the commission could follow the method of operation currently being used by the Carnegie Foundation study of the Catholic school system, viz., a general questionnaire survey of the approximately 500 U.S. seminaries followed by an intensive examination of a representative sampling. To insure complete objectivity and a certain freshness of approach the majority of commission members should not be seminary officials but clerics and laymen with obvious background qualifications for their assignment. The final decision on the future pattern of our seminaries would be made by the bishops following the report of the commission.

If a commission of this nature were appointed it is

possible that one of its recommendations would be the removal of smaller seminaries from their widely dispersed positions and their relocation on the periphery of ten or twelve centrally located universities whose teaching personnel and general facilities would then become available to the seminary students. The necessary adaptation of seminary rules and customs to meet the variegated pattern of university life would bring the disciplinary habits of many seminaries closer to the ideal of *Menti Nostrae*. If young men are educated in an environment too isolated from the world, they may, in leaving the seminary, find serious difficulty in their relations either with ordinary people or with the educated laity, and it may happen that they adopt a misguided and false attitude toward the faithful.

The proposed relocation would also enable each community to profit by the greater academic and cultural opportunity of the university while retaining its own traditional apostolate and autonomy. The universities involved in the consolidation program would have previously recognized the high status of the seminary in the Church's life by agreeing to make key personnel available to the seminary students. Since circumstances would necessitate a gradual program of relocation, the plan would involve no drastic allocation of the resources of the cooperating universities but could become a recognized part of each university's master plan of expansion.

ON THE undergraduate level the seminarians could pursue the B.A. program in the liberal arts with majors in philosophy, history, literature or a related field, depending on the talent of the individual student. In the early stage of the plan the majority of students might be encouraged to follow the philosophy major while a select number of students with obvious inclinations towards history or literature would be permitted to enter those fields. A careful study of the progress of these students in their subsequent study of theology and in their post-ordination career would be used to indicate whether the Church should now consider replacing its seven-century emphasis on Aristotelianism and Thomism with a wider and more comprehensive familiarity with the entire spectrum of Western thought. Since St. Thomas produced his Christian synthesis through a cultivated familiarity with the intellectual ferment of his own century and the immediate previous century as found in Arabic and pagan sources, we might produce another Thomas if we gave our students the same prerogative. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century thinkers, e.g., Hegel, Darwin, Marx and Freud, could be considerably more stimulating and beneficial as a background for theological studies than Pythagoras and his associates.

A frank and authoritative recognition by the hierarchy that the layman has a significant role to play in

the training of priests should necessarily precede the actual establishment of the seminary-university consolidation. Although the majority of lay professors participating in the program would direct the study pattern and conduct seminars for the seminarians in their respective fields, it is conceivable that a smaller number of lay professors would offer to undergo training in order to qualify as professors of theology. At the present time, for instance, there are over a hundred thousand former seminarians in the United States of whom a significant number have received one or two years of theological training.

The studies that have been made on the post-seminary activities of these men indicate that they tend to enter the service professions, e.g., medicine, teaching, Peace Corps, etc. To this writer's knowledge no official invitation has ever been extended to them to offer their knowledge and their ecclesiastical training to the service of instructing future priests. If only one percent of those seminarians who annually leave in the second or third year of theology were to offer their services to the seminary the Mystical Body would be considerably richer by reason of their gift. And of course the number of laymen who have never been in seminaries is much higher.

At this point it might be well to consider a danger hidden in any coordination of university and seminary. In recent decades the issuance of Roman documents has been the occasion of inserting new courses in the seminary or expanding those in existence. The result has been a bulging curriculum which frequently pre-empts the study time necessary for the individual's personal synthesis of the course of studies. Even with these additions most seminary authorities recognize a deficiency in such fields as psychology and sociology. The availability of professors on the campus who are particularly qualified in these subjects might occasion the urge to add still more courses. To avoid this development it might be advisable to declare a temporary moratorium on adding courses or hours to the curriculum until a detailed study could be made on the effect of reducing classroom hours.

Consideration should also be given to the charge that we have been using a "funnel" theory of education in the seminary with emphasis on classroom hours, manuals and exams when a more personalized track system emphasizing individual study, independent investigation and seminar discussions under competent faculty direction would produce a superior product. The young priest who leaves the seminary intensely curious about modern philosophy and theology and the special problems confronting the Church in the present age may be of greater benefit to the Mystical Body than the young man who has methodically and deliberately acquired all the answers to all the tests.

It would be difficult to catalogue all the benefits

coming to the seminary and to the Church in general if laymen were welcomed into the seminary as teachers. A merciful end could be made to practices adopted by reason of the shortage of trained seminary professors, e.g., two- and three-year cycle courses in which both new and advanced students proceed through the same material at the same pace. Seminary professors whose time and efforts are currently extended to teach several subjects could confine themselves to their specialty and possibly do productive research in it.

The practice of entrusting the course in Sacred Eloquence to a single instructor who is responsible for the oratorical development of all the students during their four-year theology course could be replaced by using a team of teachers drawn from various university departments and activities such as drama, English composition, debating, etc. The monotonous round of classroom lectures could be broken by seminar discussions with various professors. Students with obvious talents (writing, speaking, etc.) or definite inclinations (liturgy, catechetics, etc.) could be placed in clinics or workshops under expert guidance.

But the greatest benefit to be derived from the layman's participation in the training of priests is a benefit that cannot be catalogued or typed. Would the rapport established between lay instructor and future priest in the classroom and in seminar discussion help bridge the gulf between layman and cleric? I believe it would. For too long the American layman's voice has been a voice from the periphery of our clerical world.

Today's priest must be a liberally educated person with a knowledge of literature and poetry, drama and history, psychology and philosophy, economics and sociology, scriptures and ascetism, all within the synthesis of theology and with the dedicated discipline of the true man of God. The Church in America can produce such men if all the members of the Mystical Body are called upon to contribute their vision and their talent.

This Timelessness

This timelessness, this blue
Foreverness of sky,
Is measured not by days
Or distance. You and I
Are crumbling into ash;
The being does not die.

The seasons come and go
In shrewd disguise. The wrist
Stops ticking. Apples bleed;
The grape turns amethyst.
The hour is harvested—
God gleans what man has missed.

JOHN ROBERT QUINN

THE STAGE

The Three-Minute Laugh

ONE OF the amazing things about Show Business that Irving Berlin did not get around to mentioning in his song is the amount of Know-how that goes into making even flops. Before a play reaches Broadway, it will have been brooded over by whole platoons of experts, who have nothing on their minds but success; yet again and again success is just what eludes them—to the point where, in the manner of Oscar Wilde's Tuppy, their experience must consist almost exclusively of mistakes.

The first and obvious explanation is that successful plays are devilishly hard to plan. Producers, playwrights, etc., are like men fumbling for quicksilver: the more of them join in, the more hilarious the pile-up. Everytime a scene is re-written, the whole stress and tilt of the play alters and the magic slides into another corner; or right out the door.

The corollary is equally obvious. Amateurishness breeds its own disasters; but after undergoing identical tremors of mild disappointment at three plays in a row, a reviewer has to wonder whether compulsive professionalism doesn't breed worse ones. In each case, the things that grated were the things that had obviously been put in to insure success; and in two out of three, they were things that actually ran counter to the play's own best interests.

Two of these insurance devices might be called respectively the every-3-minute laugh and the nervous change of subject. As to the first—it crops up in serious plays as well as funny ones, so that every play has become a sort of half-baked comedy. After a while, you come to hate that punctual sound of laughter in the theater, with its overtones of the television studio and the hyper-thyroid laugh-machine.

No doubt the laughs don't really come exactly three minutes apart. But Know-how is mortally afraid of a quiet audience, and is reassured by laughter of however poor a quality. The nature of Know-how gags would be worth a study in themselves: they are almost guaranteed to force a laugh (followed by that dry, empty feeling) out of any New York audience, and they are virtually interchangeable, so that you can barely remember which show spawned which gag.

The nervous change of subject is Section II of the same syndrome—the fear of boring anyone for a moment. The Broadway audience is assumed (who knows?, perhaps rightly) to be pathologically fidgety, and to have an attention-span of roughly thirty seconds. Hence, as soon as a scene begins to look half-way interesting, the stage is invaded by hordes of fresh characters, bearing further jests and sub-plots. It becomes graphically

clear that the average play would rather be a movie if it could—by striving for the same flow of movement, the same fragmentation of story-telling; by sacrificing the leisurely accumulations of intensity (the best plays all have their dull moments) that would make a spectator feel at last completely used, and completely satisfied.

There is no bore like a bore who keeps changing the subject, and Know-how plays tend to be at once sprightly and dull like a Hokinson chairwoman. Of the three that induced this melange of sensations, one—Saul Bellow's "The Last Analysis"—has already died peacefully, and there is no point in driving another stake through it here. A second, "Beekman Place," showed every sign of dying too, so that this reviewer clambered off after the first act—only to find it still afloat some weeks later. (Lord Jim couldn't have been more chagrined.)

The third, Lorraine Hansberry's "Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window" has a sturdier look. Any one of its plots would make a good play, if the other plots would leave it alone. Several of the scenes would be powerful if they weren't switched off too quickly in the interests of pace and zest. ("The Last Analysis" was worse in both these respects—vivacious eccentricity crammed down your throat and into your ears: here comes the ex-wife, here comes the mistress; quick, rape the secretary, crucify the boss—all the deep melancholy of farce gone wrong.)

"Sidney Brustein" is a compendium of Village legends—homosexual playwright, junkie-prostitute, miscegenation blues—all jostling for equal time. There is more than a hint of parody, particularly in the solemn quotes from Thoreau and Kafka, and this might have been the most promising line of all for Miss Hansberry to follow. The story concerns a Village intellectual facing life, and the weakness of the play—namely that nobody gives a nickel whether he faces it or not—could have been its strength; the self-importance of this tiny figure has its tragic value. His final words, for instance, are "tomorrow we'll make something strong out of this." He has been to the theater himself, we observe, and knows what to say when one of life's curtains quivers overhead: it could be very horrible, but I'm afraid Miss Hansberry meant it just the way it sounds, so it's nothing at all, just a routine bit of dawn-facing.

Maybe "Sidney Brustein" was not re-written to death (maybe the others weren't either), but it bears the worst marks of it. To sum these up: the individual segments have been sharpened to a squeaky point, but the Grand Design has been lost. Two scenes, almost back-to-back, still have the makings of real drama: the one in which Ben Aliza explains why, as a colored man, he cannot marry a white prostitute; and another, in which Alice Ghostley dissects her own square marriage and shows it to be as scabrous as anything the hippies are likely to concoct. It is no defect at times like these that

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Miss Hansberry is not afraid of a good cliché. She pours it on with a nice carelessness, as if to remind us that this is her play and nobody else's, and that she can do what she likes with it; and we are further reminded by this of how much we lose every time Know-how takes a play away from its author and puts it through charm school.

If either of those big scenes had been allowed to grow into a play, the play would have been a good one; but what with the jokes—jokes in *this* play—and the fancy footwork, the effect becomes progressively weaker until nothing is left but that mild, horribly mild, Broadway disappointment. (*At the Longacre*)

WILFRID SHEED

THE SCREEN

Love's Labour's Lost

ALTHOUGH "Where Love Has Gone" is handsomely produced by Joseph Levine and well directed by Edward Dmytryk and is much better than "The Carpetbaggers" (the last picture made from a Harold Robbins novel), it is still little more than a glorified soap opera. After most of the melodrama is sliced away, and it's difficult to slice because there's so much of it, "Where Love Has Gone" is essentially the story of three women of three generations. All three are well played: Bette Davis as the wealthy, ruthless, domineering eldest who would stoop to any measures to uphold the family name; Susan Hayward as her browbeaten daughter expressing herself as a sculptor and trying to break away from mama although she marries the man of mama's choice; and Joey Heatherton as the unhappy daughter of this unhappy marriage and now dragged into juvenile court when she admits killing her mother's lover. Michael Connors is excellent as the husband of Susan and father of Joey; although he doesn't have much chance in a story mainly concerned with mother-daughter love-hate relationships, he is a key figure and when driven to drink by the trap he's in, Susan turns to sleeping around which gives her an excuse for the film's best line: "I used sex as you used liquor." Men may sit through all this with some interest and patience. Women will probably lap it up.

IT'S HARD to say who will like "The Soft Skin," a French film about adultery. It is unusual, as movies go, because it does not glamorize the subject and because it was made by Francois Truffaut, the brilliant New Wave director whose "400 Blows" will always make us expect too much of him. "The Soft Skin" is about a middle-aged literary authority and lecturer whose wife does not take at all kindly to his affair with

an airline hostess. Truffaut has directed this story with meticulous attention to detail—not so much to the sexual aspects as to all the sordid situations, the con-
 niving, and the daily routine thrown off kilter by a con-
 tinuing liaison. Although the cast is good and the
 camerawork expert, the concentration of minutiae in
 this triangular dilemma wears out the audience. One
 can admire what Truffaut is trying to do in telling a
 sorry tale that can lead only to great sorrow, but un-
 fortunately his picture becomes dull—that is until the
 finale when we are reawakened with a murderous bang.
 I met director Truffaut recently and asked him about
 this startling, melodramatic finale, and he answered that
 the story was factual. Well, truthful "The Soft Skin" may
 be, but interesting it is not.

TURNING from middle-aged dalliance to love on the
 campus, the next item is "The Young Lovers," which
 was produced and directed by Samuel Goldwyn, Jr.
 As far as I can make out, the main topics of discussion
 at this particular college are the draft and whether or
 not the boys and girls should sleep together. The story
 concentrates on two couples played by Peter Fonda
 and Sharon Huguency who do, and by Nick Adams
 and Deborah Walley who don't. Sharon resists Peter
 for quite a while, but finally gives in. Their second at-
 tempt at a rendezvous provides the film's most interest-

ing scene; it takes place at a cheap motel and both of
 the young people realize it is just a tawdry assignation
 and has nothing to do with love. Although the script's
 dialogue gets rather pretentious and arty at times, it
 does manage, at least, to come out against abortion.

Also concerned with young people is the Italian
 "Bebo's Girl," a strange movie if there ever was one—not
 exactly a bad movie, but strange. Set in wartime and
 post-war Italy, it follows the unlikely romance of a young
 partisan (George Chakiris), who has much more on his
 mind than love and sex, and an uncultured country girl
 (Claudia Cardinale) who realizes she's getting no prize,
 but she wants this war-busy fellow. The film, nicely di-
 rected by Luigi Comencini, goes on and on with many
 side issues concerned with the war, collaborators, and
 other problems confronting the Italians after the fight-
 ing is over. As time goes on, the country girl moves to
 the city and grows up, especially when she meets a
 young intellectual (Marc Michel), a really likeable
 fellow who helps the girl and falls in love with her.
 She realizes, however, that she is still Bebo's girl and
 should stick by him and wait for him. You are likely
 to become a little impatient with this lengthy movie
 and with the girl's loyalty through the years, but Miss
 Cardinale gives a lovely performance. And it is a plea-
 sure for a change to see a love movie that actually deals
 with love.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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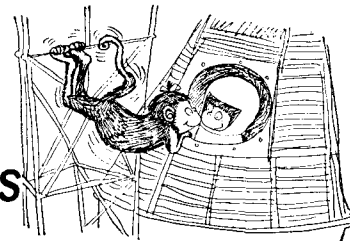


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Learning About Poverty

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP

THIS YEAR, American complacency has been definitively shattered—the land of surpluses is discovering poverty right in its midst. Thirty-six million underprivileged Americans, and hardly anyone daring to say any more that these are mostly lazy or shiftless people; the War on Poverty is on. As a matter of fact to label it “poverty” is a polite understatement. It should be called destitution.

Indeed, one can be poor, unable to have a car, a TV set or go to the movies every week, and yet still eat adequately, work at a steady job and have one's own children educated. But destitution means a permanent state of near-starvation—most frequently through a deficient diet—complete insecurity as to a job and incapacity to have one's children properly educated.

The average American adult is just beginning to realize that the latter conditions exist, in various degrees, in practically all countries, including the United States. The question is not whether the average American child should be acquainted with this worldwide destitution—obviously, the answer is yes—but to what extent they are being made aware, right now, that millions of children, all over the earth, go to bed hungry every single night.

OF COURSE, UNESCO publications with their excellent photos and short texts can be of a marked help. However, to a child, nothing can take the place of a story. Therefore the lists of books published during the last decade or so may give us a more accurate gauge of our children's awareness of the problem.

As far as stories of underprivileged children abroad are concerned, we have to consider only those which represent a permanent state of destitution and not those which deal with the temporary devastations of war or natural catastrophes—though even in those cases poor people are obviously the ones to suffer most. Moreover we have to realize that a standard of living lower than ours does not necessarily constitute destitution in that particular country. What we have to look for are stories

which depict children living under sub-human conditions year-in year-out, resulting from society's inadequate and lopsided structures.

Such a book is, for instance, *What Then Raman?* by Shirley L. Arora, which pictures the struggles a poor boy in India goes through in order to learn how to read, and the shattering consequences which result for him and for his whole village. Again about India, there is the magnificent story, *The Road to Agra*, by Aimee Sommerfelt. A poor thirteen-year-old boy takes it upon himself to bring his little sister to a distant city for an operation which will recover her eyesight. The heroism of the children stands in sharp contrast to the appallingly deficient living conditions of the country.

The latter are well depicted as regards Mexico, in two touching, easy-to-read stories—*Hildalgo and the Gringo Train*, by Fay Griffith, and *Tomas Goes Trading*, by Helinz Washburn.

Few books bring home so vividly the unbearable anguish which accompanies near-starvation as *Felipe's Long Journey* which takes place in Bolivia. Edna Jennings Sorensen's story is unforgettable.

Wan-Fu Ten Thousand Happiness, by Alice M. Higgins, Hugh Robinson and Earle Ballon, dramatically portrays the centuries-old Chinese destitution which also confronts its present-day government.

If I may be permitted to mention it, my own book *Toto's Triumph*, deals also with a social evil—the shortage of living quarters in a land of plenty, France.

In the above stories—to mention only a few of the available ones dealing with poverty abroad—it is evident that the hardships of the young heroes are the result of society's deficient structures. Not so in the stories about American poverty.

Destitution in America is to be found, for the largest part, among Indians, Negroes, Poor Whites and Migrant Workers.

A number of writers have written well about present-day Indians. To my mind, the first of these is Ann Nolan Clark who has taught Indians, lived with them, learned their various languages, and, above all, listened not only to their words but also to their silence, and this for thirty years. Her stories, written with reverential understanding and consummate talent, concern Indians in the United States as well as in Central and South America. Though compassion and tenderness are her key-

MRS. BISHOP is well-known as an author of children's books. Among them are the following: *All Alone*, *Augustus*, *The Big Loop*, *Blue Spring Farm*, *The Man Who Lost His Head*, *Pancakes-Paris*, *Toto's Triumph*, *Twenty and Ten*, *Bernard and His Dogs*, *Christopher and the Giant*, *The Ferryman*, *Five Chinese Brothers*, *Martin de Porres*, *Lafayette: French-American Hero*, *A Present from Petros*, and most recently, *Toto's Triumph*.

NOVEMBER 6, 1964 201

notes, she can be fierce in picturing sub-human conditions brought about by white greed and incomprehension, as in *The Secret of the Andes* and *Santiago*. In this recognition of a social evil affecting a whole category of citizens, Ann Nolan Clark is quite unique as a writer of children's books.

The poor whites of the Appalachia region have a few fervent chroniclers, such as May Justus whose *Children of the Great Smoky* displays much understanding and love for the youngsters of that underdeveloped region. Billy C. Clark in *The Trail of the Hunter's Horn* depicts the heart-rending loneliness of a poor boy on a mountain farm. Yet as sympathetic as the authors are, they view the problem in individual terms. So do those who write about Negro children. A number of books take up the problem from this very limited angle—a Negro child faces difficulties at school or in sports competition. Such is *New Boy in School* by May Justus, *Ladder to the Sky* by Ruth F. Chander. We are badly in need of stories from the Negro point of view and with broader implications.

AS FOR migrant workers: this category has found its cantor in the person of Lois Lenski whose *Regional Series* is widely popular. This winning author always speaks from personal experience. She has picked cotton in the Cotton Belt and strawberries with the Florida crackers. The children themselves have written to her

and begged her to come and write about them. She did and still does. Her stories are unadorned, conditions are not glossed over, moral deficiencies on the part of adults just stop short of what cannot be included in a children's book.

Yet Miss Lenski's young heroes ride steadfastly to a modicum of security and education, and this without endangering in the least the inhuman social system. The keynote of these realistic stories, which, implicitly, are an indictment of American society, is the rugged individual's triumph. In today's world, I find this optimism not only outdated, but frightening. Though Lois Lenski is to be praised for having revealed, with talent and pathos, the existence of American underprivileged children to a vast public of comfortable boys and girls, yet her point of view falls short of the perspective in which this dramatic condition should be viewed by today's youngsters.

It seems to me that when the young reader closes one of Lois Lenski's books he is more likely to wonder, "What is wrong with these people that they go on living like that?" than to ask, "What's wrong with our country?" Such stories, as well as those of other writers, may have been an eye-opener to many children of "better homes" in the past. Today they do not open the door to the one fundamental and urgent problem, namely the need to eradicate sub-human conditions for vast collectivities.

It may be that the events of the last months, pertaining to desegregation, have helped to crack the shell of American complacency in more than one domain. Perhaps Americans are waking up to the fact that though America repudiates all class concepts, there are whole categories of citizens—Indians, Poor Whites, Negroes, Migrant Workers—to say nothing of the new victims of automation—who, exploited and despised, live under these sub-human conditions.

The American Negroes' articulate awareness and recent militancy may contribute to a more accurate appraisal of the dimensions, not only of the Negroes' but of all the Have-Nots' plight in America, provided the Haves do not view the war on poverty solely in terms of dollars and purchasing power, but as an inescapable, urgent moral duty dictated by our recognition, shamefully belated, of human dignity.

Thus there is room for children's stories, written by talented writers, not bent on propaganda, but genuinely filled with a vision suited to our present day world as well as to tomorrow's world. We are in need of great human stories which will help children to discover within themselves a thirst to make the earth fair.

FANTASY

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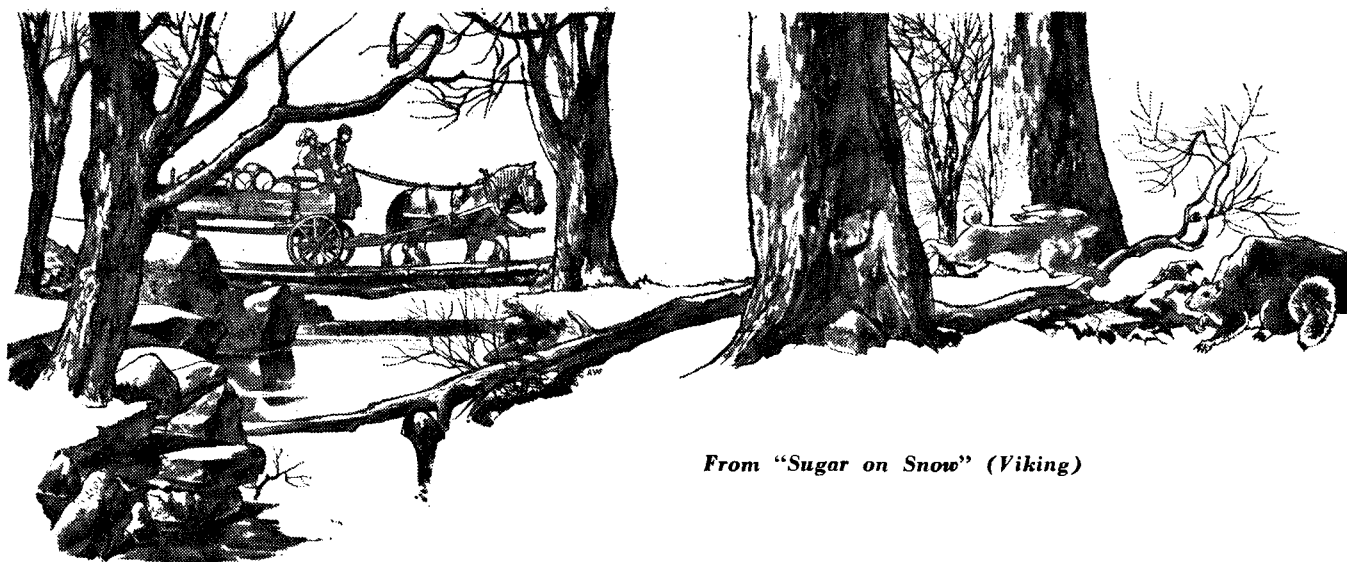
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A Selected List of Children's Books

ELIZABETH MINOT GRAVES

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A Little Garland of Carols, Holiday Rhymes, Prayers and Graces. Ill. by Betty Fraser. Rutledge - Macmillan. \$2.95.

Three tiny books in a tiny box, very attractively designed and illustrated in full color. All ages.

Little Bear's Christmas. By Janice. Ill. by Mariana. Lothrop. \$2.95.

Little Bear wakes up just in time for Christmas. Endearing color pictures of Santa and Little Bear's friends. 4-7.

Christmas in Noisy Village. By Astrid Lindgren. Ill. by Ilon Wikland. Viking. \$3.

What a wonderful holiday treat! The chance to share Christmas with the beguiling children of Noisy Village. A beautiful big picture book with glowing color. 6-10.

St. Nicholas and the Tub. By Brian Burland. Ill. by Joseph Low. Holiday. \$3.25.

An imaginative story of St. Nicholas' first Christmas gifts. Fanciful folklike color illustrations. 5-9.

The Twenty-Four Days Before Christmas. By Madeleine L'Engle. Ill. by Inga. Ariel-Farrar. \$3.25.

ELIZABETH MINOT GRAVES is a free-lance writer and children's books editor for the Garrard Publishing Company.

A family prepares for Christmas—and a new baby. Seven-year-old Vicky Austin who is to be the angel in the Christmas play is the heroine. 6-10.

The Piper. By Eden Vale Stevens. Ill. by Fermin Rucker. Atheneum. \$3.95.

A poor orphan boy in olde London seeks a mother for himself, and the mother of all, on Christmas Eve. A haunting and beautiful story with equally beautiful, sensitive line drawings. 7-11.

RELIGION

Candles in the Dark. Edited by Margaret C. Brinton, Mary E. McWhirter & Janet E. Schroeder. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends. \$1.75.

An anthology of stories to be used in education for peace and awareness of God. Courage, forgiveness, friendliness, justice, truth, self-control, service and love are highlighted in these stories from many authors, lands and faiths. A very useful book. 7-11.

The Lord's Prayer. Comments by Mary Alice Jones. Ill. by Dorothy Grider. Rand. \$2.

Verse by verse Miss Jones interprets the words of the prayer in meaningful everyday terms. Picture book. 5-10.

Good King Wenceslaus. By Mildred V. Luckhardt. Ill. by Gordon Laite. Abingdon. \$3.

The page boy and the king of carol fame. An exciting story of conflict between pagans and Christians. 7-11.

Helena. By Mary Harris. Ill. by Michael A. Hampshire. *Patrick.* By Marigold Hunt. Ill. by Gareth Floyd. Sheed & Ward. Each \$2.50.

These "Patron Saint" books are an unusually good series. The short biographies have verve, idiom and style and read like stories. Besides giving a complete life of the saint they give a very good picture of the times. They are attractively designed with line drawings by top-notch artists. 6-10.

Tales of California Missions. By Brother Franciscus Willett. Ill. by Brother Cajestan Holland. Holy Cross Press. \$2.50.

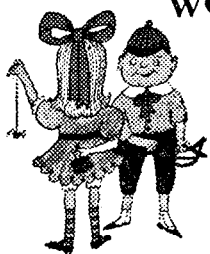
Interesting little stories of Spanish California and the friendship between the priests, Indians and early settlers. 8-12.

Anne and the Sand Dobies: A Story about Death for Children and their Parents. By John B. Coburn. Seabury. \$3.50.

A boy loses his dog and his sister in the same year but gains a new understanding of life and God. An honest, dramatic story that faces all the details of death openly. Written with idiom and style by the Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. 8-13.

NOVEMBER 6, 1964 203

New Books from WORLD



Beastly Boys and Ghastly Girls

Edited by WILLIAM COLE. Illustrated by Tomi Ungerer. "In these poems is the naughtiest crew of pre-adults ever assembled . . . to gladden the hearts of children."—*Publishers' Weekly*. Ages 9 up / \$3.75

The Land of Right Up and Down

By EVA-LIS WUORIO. Illustrated by Edward Ardizzone. This tale of two children who live in an Andorran hamlet in the Pyrenees is "written and illustrated with a freshness and grace that make it wonderfully appealing."—*Publishers' Weekly*.

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By LOUISA R. SHOTWELL, author of *Roosevelt Grady*, A.L.A. Notable Book of 1963. Illustrated with photographs. Delightful vignettes of Asia's children, based on the author's personal observation of UNICEF at work.

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Omen of the Birds

By HARRY BEHN, author of *The Faraway Lurs*, A.L.A. Notable Book of 1963. The Etruscans come vividly to life in this exquisitely written novel about Caele, the boy who became Tarquin, semilegendary King of Rome.

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Adventures with Abraham's Children. By Catherine F. Sellev. Ill. by Steele Savage. Little, Brown. \$3.95.

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Bible Encyclopedia for Children. By Rev. Cecil Northcott. Ill. by Denis Wrigley. Westminster. \$3.95.

A large, rich 180-page encyclopedia. Many vignettes from the Bible. Both writing and illustrations are exact and sprightly. 8-16.

PICTURE BOOKS

I Have a Horse of My Own. By Charlotte Zolotow. Ill. by Yoko Mitsuhashi. Abelard. \$2.75.

Each night a little girl and her horse dream forth together through the wind and moon. Brief, perfect text and lovely pink and gray pictures by a new Japanese artist of rare creativity and talent.

Boxes. By M. Jean Craig. Ill. by Joe Lasker. Norton. \$2.95.

The surprisingly many kinds of boxes and the fun children can have with them. A gay, imaginatively illustrated book that can be just looked at, or read.

Whistle for Willie. Written and Ill. by Erza Jack Keats. Viking. \$3.50.

Another freshly and handsomely illustrated story of a small Negro boy by the Caldecott Medal winner. All boys will delight when Peter finally learns to whistle for his dog Willie.

Penguin's Pal. Written and Ill. by Robert Kraus. Harper. \$2.50.

A lonely penguin makes a friend at last. Everyday problems and everyday vocabulary combined with fantasy and a very special wit. Little ones will love this.

Fortunately. Written and Ill. by Remy Charlip. Parents. \$2.95.

Bright pictures and bright nonsense with one thrilling escape after another.

Little Toot on the Thames. Written and Ill. by Hardy Gramatky. Putnam. \$3.50.

For 25 years little children have enjoyed Little Toot the New York tugboat. Now new generations can revel in these adventures in London. Gay scenes.

Dandelion. Written and Ill. by Don

Freeman. Viking. \$3.

After dressing up elegantly for a party, a lion learns it is better to be yourself. Humor, charm and lion-yellow pictures.

Bread and Jam for Frances. Nothing To Do. Two books by Russell Hoban. Ill. by Lilian Hoban. Harper. Each \$2.50.

What a treat to have two books by the talented Hobans this season. Their picture books are about the most satisfying ones in print and these are no exception. *Frances* learns to eat something besides bread and jam. *Walter* finds something to do without following Father. Warmth, humor and down-to-earth detail combined with true imagination.

May I Bring A Friend? By Beatrice Schenk de Regniers. Ill. by Beni Montresor. Atheneum. \$3.50.

Utterly charming is this fanciful, repetitive rhymed story of a small boy who brings his zoo friends to tea with the king and queen. Quiet Milne-like wit and rhythm and pictures with delicate and decorative absurdity.

Tico and the Golden Wings. Written and Ill. by Leo Lionni. Pantheon. \$3.50.

A magical bird with a magical heart in this poignant, beautifully designed book rich with the arts of India.



From "The Mitten" (Lothrop)

The Mitten. By Alvin Tresset. Ill. by Yaroslava. Lothrop. \$2.95.

A boy loses his mitten in the winter woods and one by one the wild animals crowd into it for shelter. An old Ukrainian folk tale lovingly retold and illustrated with charm and brilliance.

EASY READING

A Day Without Wind. By William Mayne. Ill. by Margery Gill. Dutton. \$3.50.

A boy on a Scottish island, herding sheep, playing with his sister and waiting for the day his father can come

home across the sea from the hospital. Poetic text and pictures. 6-9.

Mystery Guest at Left End. By Beman Lord. Ill. by Arnold Spilka. Walck. \$2.95.

The new star player on their football team is a girl! Si and John struggle to keep it secret. A highly satisfying and funny sports book for 6-10.

Home is the Sailor. By Rumer Godden. Ill. by Jean Primrose. Viking. \$3.

Another enchanting doll story from the enchanted pen of Rumer Godden. 7-11.

Pony in the School House. By Miska Miles. Ill. by Erik Blegvad. Little. \$2.95.

A little girl longs for a horse to ride to school and for Rowdy Benson not to tease her. A homey story with farm fun and a thrilling blizzard. 7-10.

Ribsy. By Beverly Cleary. Ill. by Louis Darling. Morrow. \$2.95.

Hilarious adventures as Henry Huggins' lost dog finds his way home. 7-11.

The Letter on the Tree. By Natalie Savage Carlson. Ill. by John Kaufmann. Harper. \$3.50.

A Canadian farm boy learns that being rich is not as important as sharing what you do have and earning things rightfully. Poignant, timeless and full of the beauty of the outdoors. Fine writing. 7-11.

The Ginger Horse. By Maureen Daly. Ill. by Wesley Dennis, Dodd, Mead. \$3.50.

A courageous Scottish mine-boy gains freedom for himself and a pit pony. 7-11.

Meg and Melissa. By Elizabeth Ladd. Ill. by Mary Stevens. Morrow. \$2.95.

Another easy, satisfying girls' mystery laid on the Maine coast. 8-11.

FANTASY

The Witch Who Wasn't. By Jane Yolen. Ill. by Arnold Roth. Macmillan. \$2.95.

Poor, good, little Isabel tries hard to be a *bad* witch, especially at the annual spelling bee. Funny pictures. 5-9.

Snow White and Rose Red. By the Brothers Grimm. Ill. by Adrienne Adams. Scribners. \$3.50.

A beautifully illustrated edition in sensitive and glowing color. A must! 5-10.

Flat Stanley. By Jeff Brown. Ill. by Tomi Ungerer. Harper. \$2.50.

A very successful and very unusual modern fantasy that is really too original to describe. It is a family story, a mystery, a tragedy, a satire—really everything! Just buy it. Young and old will read it again and again.

The Bea-Man of Orn. By Frank R. Stockton. Ill. by Maurice Sendak. Holt. \$3.50.

A witty story and witty, decorative color pictures to delight 6-10 & adults.

The Gentle Knight. By Richard

Schickel. Ill. by Quentin Blake. Abelard. \$2.75.

Gentle humor and wisdom as a reluctant knight befriends a dreadful dragon, and they adventure forth together. Gay pictures that are just right. 6-10.

The Harper Book of Princes. Selected by Sally Patrick Johnson. Ill. by Janina Domanska. Harper. \$4.95.

Wonderful fairy tales to read aloud, both European and American. A large, handsome book to love and treasure. 8-12.

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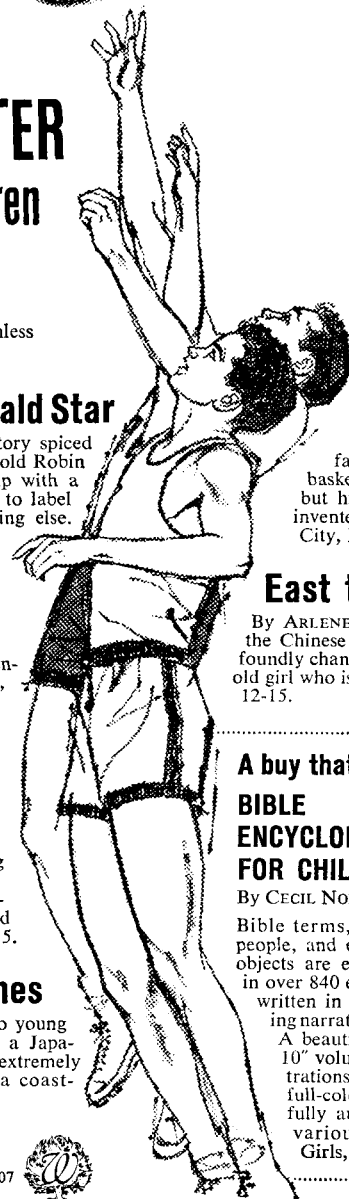
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An unusual combination of wit, realism and fantasy. Two girls, one rich, one poor, share a magic stone which helps them become friends despite class barriers. 10-13.

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A boy and his grandfather have a wonderful time telling each other stories and making up poems. A rare book with beauty, originality, humor and insight.

Tinker's Castle. By Winifred Mantle. Ill. by Kurt Werth. Holt. \$3.75.

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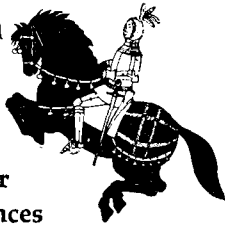
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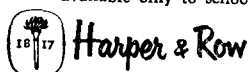
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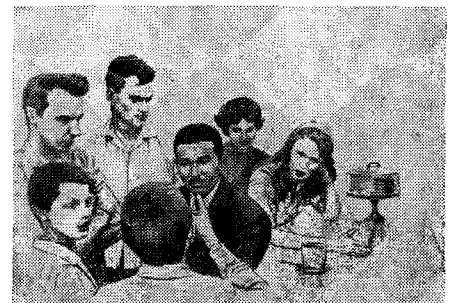
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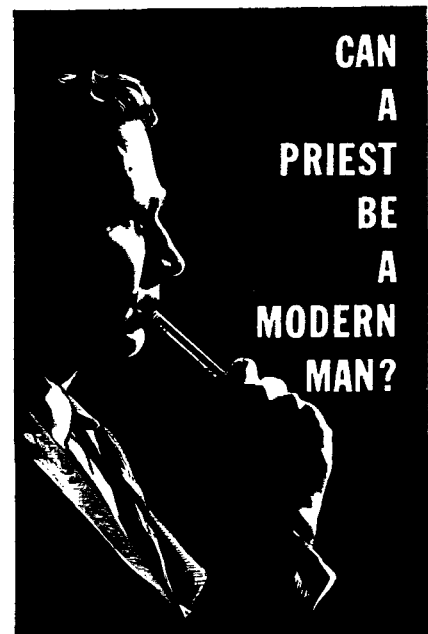
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Fall 1964

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PAPILLOT, CLIGNOT ET DODO. Eugene Field's immortal *Wynken, Blynken and Nod*, translated into lilting French—with magical, moonlit illustrations by Caldecott prize-winner **BARBARA COONEY.**

Ariel. Age 7 and up. September \$3.25

Murray McCain and John Alcorn

WRITING! Mr. McCain's words and Mr. Alcorn's pictures cooperate beautifully in showing what written communication is all about.

Ariel. Age 7 and up. September \$2.50

Madeleine L'Engle

THE 24 DAYS BEFORE CHRISTMAS. Illustrated by INGA. A charming new novel about the Austins, who have figured in two previous stories by this Newbery Medal winner.

Ariel. Ages 8 to 12. September \$3.25

Margaret J. Baker

CASTAWAY CHRISTMAS. Illustrated by RICHARD KENNEDY. Three English children, marooned in their vacation cottage by a flood, look after themselves and their neighbors, too.

Bell. Ages 10 to 14. August \$2.95

Marg Nelson

MYSTERY ON A MINUS TIDE. A prairie girl who has never seen the ocean begins a new life on the Oregon coast—and solves a baffling seaside mystery. Ariel. Ages 12 to 16. August \$2.95

Harold Faber

SOLDIER AND STATESMAN: General George C. Marshall. The story of the man who shaped our strategy in World War II and in the Cold War that followed.

Ariel. Ages 12 to 16. August \$3.25

Rosemary Weir

THE STAR AND THE FLAME. Illustrated by WILLIAM STOBBS. A rousing tale of English life in the 17th Century, built around two historic London catastrophes—the Plague and the Fire.

Ariel. Ages 12 to 16. August \$3.25

Leonard Wibberley

A DAWN IN THE TREES: Thomas Jefferson, The Years 1776-1789. Picks up where the acclaimed *Young Man from the Piedmont* leaves off. A *Junior Literary Guild* selection.

Ariel. Ages 12 to 16. August \$3.25

Louise Lee Floethe

BITTERSWEET SUMMER. Daphne, a summer waitress at a dude ranch, meets two very dissimilar boys—and learns that youth can be both bitter and sweet at once.

Ariel. Young adult. September \$3.50

Robert T. Reilly

IRISH SAINTS. Portraits of twelve saintly Irish men and women, many of them canonized, ranging in time from St. Patrick's day to our own. Vision Book (V-63).

Ages 9 to 15. September \$2.25

Margaret Ann Hubbard

DEAR PHILIPPINE: The Mission of Mother Duchesne. The life of Rose Philippine Duchesne, founder of convents and schools in the Midwest and South, who died in 1852 and was beatified in 1940. Vision Book (V-64).

Ages 9 to 15. September \$2.25

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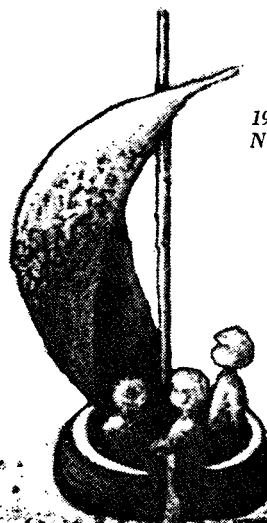


Illustration by BARBARA COONEY

